

THE
COMMERCIAL CLUB
OF CHICAGO

YEAR BOOK
1912-1913






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The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877
THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896
UNITED 1907

Year-Book
1912-13

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PUBLISHED BY
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
1913

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Articles of Association
OF
The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877

THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896

UNITED 1907

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, organized December 27, 1877, and THE MERCHANTS CLUB OF CHICAGO, organized December 11, 1896, more efficiently to advance the public welfare and the commercial interests of Chicago by co-operative effort, social intercourse, and a free interchange of views, were united February 11, 1907, under the name of THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO.

Its Articles of Association are as follows:

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERS.

1. The membership shall be of four classes: Active, Associate, Non-resident, and Retired.

2. Active Members are responsible for the varied undertakings of the Club and will accept, within reasonable limitations, the assignment of work by the Executive Committee to advance the Club's interests. They shall be not more than fifty-five years old at the time of their election; and their number shall not exceed ninety men, except that, during the Club years 1910, 1911, and 1912, new members may be elected equal in number to one-half of the vacancies occurring during such Club years; the Club year being from the installation of officers at the annual meeting to the installation of their successors.

3. An Associate Member shall have the same rights and duties as an Active Member, except that he shall not be obliged to serve as an officer or required to do active work

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

for the Club save under special circumstances, and that he shall not be fined for absence from Club meetings. Active members elected after April 13, 1912, shall, upon reaching the age of sixty years, automatically become Associate Members, but any Active Member, after ten years' membership, may, at his written request and by the unanimous vote of the Executive Committee, become an Associate Member.

4. Any Active or Associate Member who has permanently removed from Chicago may, upon application to the Executive Committee, and with its approval, become a Non-resident Member.

5. Non-resident and Retired Members shall have the privilege of attending all meetings of the Club, but shall not be entitled to vote.

6. The present Retired Membership shall not be increased except by transfer, upon their request, of charter members of The Commercial Club.

7. *Election of Active Members.* The Secretary shall notify the members whenever a vacancy in the Active Membership occurs. Thereupon, any member may, by a written recommendation to the Executive Committee, nominate a person for membership. If the Executive Committee unanimously approve such a nomination, the Secretary shall so state, in a notice sent out at least two weeks previous to the meeting at which such candidate will be voted upon, and a ballot bearing the candidate's name, with the words "Accepted" and "Postponed" printed thereafter, shall be sent with such notice. The members should promptly communicate, to some member of the Executive Committee, such knowledge as they have touching the fitness or unfitness of the nominee. This information shall be held in the strictest confidence. At the next meeting of the Club, if the Executive Committee still unanimously approve the nominee, secret vote shall be had

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

by marking the printed ballot. Three ballots, marked "Postponed," shall defer the admission of such nominee. Only one candidate at a time shall be approved by the Executive Committee or submitted for election.

8. In the approval of candidates regard shall be had, so far as practicable, to the branches of business in which they are engaged, so that the various commercial interests of the City shall be fairly represented in the membership.

9. Each Active and Associate Member shall pay, by November 1st, annual dues of seventy-five dollars, which shall cover the cost of dinner at regular meetings. Non-resident and Retired Members shall not be required to pay dues, but only an assessment for each dinner which they attend or which they notify the Secretary that they will attend.

The Executive Committee may drop from the roll any member who, after due notification of dues, fails to pay them within thirty days.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

1. The Officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer. An Executive Committee of ten members shall have general control of the affairs of the club. It shall consist of the four officers, the Secretary of the preceding year if a new Secretary is elected, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and four other members, or five other members if the Secretary of the preceding year is re-elected.

2. At the April meeting the officers and the Reception Committee shall be elected to serve for one year, and two of the four elective members of the Executive Committee shall be elected to serve for two years, and until their respective successors are elected and qualify. If the Secretary of the

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

preceding year is re-elected, a fifth elective member of the Executive Committee shall be elected to serve for one year.

3. The President—or, in his absence, the Vice-President—shall preside at all meetings of the Club and of the Executive Committee.

4. The Secretary shall make and preserve complete records of all meetings of the Club and of the Executive Committee, keep all its books and papers, and perform such other duties as may be required by the Club or by the Executive Committee. He shall also prepare the Year-Book, in which shall be printed the list of officers, committees and meetings since April, 1907. In all Club publications the names of The Commercial Club and The Merchants Club should appear, with the dates of their organizations and the date of their union.

5. The Treasurer shall receive and keep the funds of the Club, and shall disburse the same, subject to the supervision of the Executive Committee, and shall keep an accurate record thereof. He shall make a full financial report at the annual April meeting. His books shall be open at all times to the inspection of the Executive Committee and of an Examiner, whom the Executive Committee should appoint before the April meeting, to audit the same.

6. The Executive Committee shall have power, by the unanimous vote of the entire Committee, to discipline or expel any Club member whenever in its judgment such action is advisable.

7. A Reception Committee, consisting of a Chairman (who shall be *ex officio* a member of the Executive Committee) and four members, shall be elected annually at the April meeting. Its duties shall be to assist in the entertainment of the Club's guests and its new members, and to act in a general way as the hosts of the Club, subject to the direction of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION

8. The President, with the advice and approval of the Executive Committee, shall select a Nominating Committee of five members and announce their names at the regular March meeting. Such committee shall recommend a list of candidates for the various offices and elective committees, and file the same with the Secretary at least twenty days before the April meeting. The Secretary shall mail such list to each member at least two weeks before the April meeting for the annual election.

ARTICLE III.

MEETINGS.

1. The Club shall hold regular monthly meetings on the second Saturday in each month, beginning in November and ending in April. The Executive Committee shall select place of each meeting, and may, in its discretion, change the date of any meeting or omit any meeting, or call special meetings at any time.

2. The Secretary shall mail to each member notice of each meeting at least five days before its date. The notice shall state specifically if any nominee for membership is to be voted upon at such meeting and any other business that is to be transacted. At any regular or special meeting at which thirty Active Members are present any business of the Club may be transacted.

3. The regular meetings of the Club shall take precedence of all social engagements. Written notice of inability to attend a regular meeting, with the reason therefor, shall be sent to the Secretary so as to reach him by the morning of the day of such regular meeting. Any member failing to give such notice, or whose reason for non-attendance is unsatisfactory to the Executive Committee, shall be fined ten dollars. Any Active Member absenting himself from three consecutive regular meet-

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

ings of the Club without sending to the Secretary an explanation satisfactory to the Executive Committee shall be considered as having withdrawn from membership, and his name shall be stricken from the rolls by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE IV.

GUESTS.

With the permission of the Executive Committee, expressed in the notice of the meeting, any member may invite the number of guests specified in the notice; but no person shall be a guest of the same member at more than two dinners during the Club year.

ARTICLE V.

AMENDMENTS.

These articles may be altered or amended at any meeting by a majority vote of the Active and Associate Members present, provided that notice of each proposed amendment was given at a prior meeting and was stated in the notice of the meeting at which the amendment is to be voted upon.

Officers and Committees
OF
The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877

THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896

UNITED 1907

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1913-14

<i>President</i>	Benjamin Carpenter
<i>Vice-President</i>	Charles H. Thorne
<i>Secretary</i>	Walter B. Smith
<i>Treasurer</i>	Albert A. Sprague II

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Benjamin Carpenter
Charles H. Thorne
Walter B. Smith
Albert A. Sprague II

William L. Brown	Theodore W. Robinson
Hugh J. McBirney	John W. Scott
Joy Morton	Charles L. Strobel

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Hugh J. McBirney, Chairman

Eugene J. Buffington	Allen B. Pond
Albert B. Dick	John E. Wilder

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Clayton Mark, Chairman

Frank H. Armstrong	William A. Gardner
Alfred L. Baker	Charles H. Markham
Edgar A. Bancroft	Allen B. Pond
Benjamin Carpenter	Theodore W. Robinson
Edward F. Carry	Homer A. Stillwell
Henry B. Favill	Harry A. Wheeler

COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

John E. Wilder, Chairman

Albert B. Dick	Bernard A. Eckhart
Alexander A. McCormick	Allen B. Pond

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF ILLINOIS TAXATION LAWS

Adolphus C. Bartlett, Chairman

Bernard A. Eckhart, Vice-Chairman

Victor F. Lawson

Albert A. Sprague II

Cyrus H. McCormick

Frederic W. Upham

Harrison B. Riley

Walter H. Wilson

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

John W. Scott, Vice-Chairman

Emerson B. Tuttle, Secretary

Walter H. Wilson, Treasurer

Alfred Cowles

Julius Rosenwald

Charles H. Hulburd

Bernard E. Sunny

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

1912-13

<i>President</i>	Clyde M. Carr
<i>Vice-President</i>	Bernard A. Eckhart
<i>Secretary</i>	Walter B. Smith
<i>Treasurer</i>	Stanley Field

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Clyde M. Carr	
Bernard A. Eckhart	
Walter B. Smith	
Stanley Field	
Frederic A. Delano	William E. Clow
Arthur D. Wheeler ¹	Cyrus H. McCormick
Adolphus C. Bartlett ²	Theodore W. Robinson
Charles L. Strobel	

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Arthur D. Wheeler, ¹ Chairman	
Charles L. Strobel, ³ Chairman	
J. Harley Bradley	John J. Glessner
Edwin G. Foreman	Charles H. Hulburd

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Clayton Mark, Chairman	
Frank H. Armstrong	William A. Gardner ⁴
Alfred L. Baker	Charles H. Markham ⁵
Edgar A. Bancroft	Allen B. Pond
Benjamin Carpenter	Theodore W. Robinson
Edward F. Carry	Homer A. Stillwell
Henry B. Favill	Harry A. Wheeler ⁴

¹ Deceased August 29, 1912.

² Appointed September 23, 1912.

³ Appointed September 23, 1912.

⁴ Appointed December 23, 1912.

⁵ Appointed January 6, 1913.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

John E. Wilder, Chairman

Albert B. Dick	Bernard A. Eckhart
Alexander A. McCormick	Allen B. Pond

COMMITTEE OF EASTERN MEMBERS ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

Charles D. Norton, Chairman

Richard M. Bissell	John R. Morron
Robert C. Clowry	Norman B. Ream
John F. Harris	James Gamble Rogers

COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF ILLINOIS TAXATION LAWS

Adolphus C. Bartlett, Chairman

Arthur D. Wheeler,¹ Vice-Chairman

Bernard A. Eckhart,² Vice-Chairman

Victor F. Lawson	Albert A. Sprague II
Cyrus H. McCormick	Frederic W. Upham
Harrison B. Riley ³	Walter H. Wilson

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

John W. Scott, Vice-Chairman

Emerson B. Tuttle, Secretary

Walter H. Wilson, Treasurer

Alfred Cowles	Julius Rosenwald
Charles H. Hulburt	Bernard E. Sunny

COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT POSTS

Harold F. McCormick, Chairman

William E. Clow	Hugh J. McBirney
Thomas E. Donnelley	Hiram R. McCullough

¹ Deceased August 29, 1912.

² To fill unexpired term.

³ Appointed December 23, 1912.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

1911-12

<i>President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Frederic A. Delano
<i>Vice-President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Frank H. Armstrong
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Edward F. Carry
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	John J. Mitchell

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Frederic A. Delano
Frank H. Armstrong
Edward F. Carry
John J. Mitchell

David R. Forgan	Charles H. Conover
Alexander A. McCormick	Clayton Mark
William E. Clow	Cyrus H. McCormick

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Alexander A. McCormick, Chairman	
Nelson P. Bigelow	Walter B. Smith
Joseph E. Otis	Edward F. Swift

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Clayton Mark, Chairman	
Frank H. Armstrong	Allen B. Pond
Alfred L. Baker	Theodore W. Robinson
Benjamin Carpenter	Homer A. Stillwell

COMMITTEE ON LAKE BLUFF NAVAL TRAINING STATION

Walter H. Wilson, Chairman	
Benjamin Carpenter	Alexander A. McCormick
Frank H. Jones	Hiram R. McCullough

COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

John E. Wilder, Chairman	
Albert B. Dick	Allen B. Pond
Bernard A. Eckhart	Alexander A. McCormick

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

Edward B. Butler, Chairman	
John W. Scott, Vice-Chairman	
Emerson B. Tuttle, Secretary	
Walter H. Wilson, Treasurer	
Charles G. Dawes	Harold F. McCormick
Charles H. Hulburd	Julius Rosenwald

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1910-11

<i>President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	David R. Forgan
<i>Vice-President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Frank H. Jones
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Edward F. Carry
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Francis C. Farwell

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

David R. Forgan

Frank H. Jones

Edward F. Carry

Francis C. Farwell

Theodore W. Robinson

William J. Chalmers

Arthur T. Aldis

Charles H. Conover

James B. Forgan

Clayton Mark

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Arthur T. Aldis, Chairman

Charles R. Corwith

Mark Morton

Samuel M. Felton

Byron L. Smith

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

John W. Scott, Chairman

Alfred Cowles

Herman H. Kohlsaat

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Granger Farwell, Chairman

J. Ogden Armour

George Merryweather

J. J. Dau

Albert A. Sprague II

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Clayton Mark, Chairman

Frank H. Armstrong

Eugene J. Buffington

Alfred L. Baker

Ernest A. Hamill

Nelson P. Bigelow

John R. Morron

COMMITTEE ON LAKE BLUFF NAVAL TRAINING STATION

Walter H. Wilson, Chairman

Benjamin Carpenter

Joseph E. Otis

Hiram R. McCullough

Frederic W. Upham

COMMITTEE ON SMALL PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

Clarence Buckingham, Chairman

Allen B. Pond

Alexander H. Revell

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON GLENWOOD SCHOOL

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON ST. CHARLES SCHOOL¹

Stanley Field, Chairman

Benjamin Carpenter

COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

William E. Clow, Chairman

Edgar A. Bancroft Harold F. McCormick

Thomas E. Donnelley Mark Morton

Stanley Field Edward F. Swift

Edward A. Turner

COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF CONSTITUTION²

John J. Glessner, Chairman

Edgar A. Bancroft Rollin A. Keyes

COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

John E. Wilder, Chairman

Alexander A. McCormick Allen B. Pond

John V. Farwell Bernard A. Eckhart

COMMITTEE ON STATE PAWNERS' SOCIETY

John V. Farwell, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON CHATTEL MORTGAGE LOAN AND ANTI-LOAN SHARK LEGISLATION

John V. Farwell, Chairman

Edgar A. Bancroft Frederic W. Upham

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

John W. Scott, Vice-Chairman

Emerson B. Tuttle, Secretary

Charles G. Dawes Charles H. Hulburd

Harold F. McCormick

¹ Discharged May 16, 1910.

² Discharged January 26, 1911.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1909-10

<i>President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Theodore W. Robinson
<i>Vice-President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Bernard E. Sunny
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Homer A. Stillwell
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Charles G. Dawes

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Theodore W. Robinson
Bernard E. Sunny
Homer A. Stillwell
Charles G. Dawes

Rollin A. Keyes	John J. Glessner
Charles L. Strobel	Frederick Greeley ¹
James B. Forgan	Cyrus H. McCormick ²
William J. Chalmers	

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Charles L. Strobel, Chairman	
William L. Brown	Chauncey Keep
Alfred Cowles	Albert A. Sprague II

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

John W. Scott, Chairman	
Nelson P. Bigelow	Herman H. Kohlsaat

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Clayton Mark, Chairman	
Frank H. Armstrong	David R. Forgan
Alfred L. Baker	John R. Morron
Edward F. Carry	Frederic W. Upham

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Frank B. Noyes, Chairman	
J. Ogden Armour	Ernest A. Hamill
Granger Farwell	Arthur Meeker

¹ Resigned December 30, 1909.

² To fill unexpired term.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON LAKE BLUFF NAVAL TRAINING STATION

Walter H. Wilson, Chairman
Alfred L. Baker John R. Morron
Harold F. McCormick Frederic W. Upham

COMMITTEE ON SMALL PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

Clarence Buckingham, Chairman
Allen B. Pond

COMMITTEE ON GLENWOOD SCHOOL

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON ST. CHARLES SCHOOL

Stanley Field, Chairman
Benjamin Carpenter

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

GENERAL COMMITTEE¹

<i>Chairman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Charles H. Wacker
<i>Vice-Chairman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	John V. Farwell
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Frederic A. Delano
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Walter H. Wilson

Edgar A. Bancroft
Adolphus C. Bartlett

Edward B. Butler Charles L. Hutchinson
Clyde M. Carr Joy Morton

Theodore W. Robinson
Charles H. Thorne

GENERAL COMMITTEE²

Edward B. Butler, Chairman
John W. Scott, Vice-Chairman
Emerson B. Tuttle, Secretary
Charles G. Dawes Harold F. McCormick
Charles H. Hulburt Charles L. Strobel

¹ Resigned upon formation of Chicago Plan Commission.

² Appointed February 3, 1910.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON LAKE PARKS

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

Edgar A. Bancroft	Harold F. McCormick
Clarence Buckingham	John J. Mitchell
Charles H. Hulburd	John E. Wilder

COMMITTEE ON RAILWAY TERMINALS

Joy Morton, Chairman

William E. Clow	Martin A. Ryerson
Cyrus H. McCormick	John G. Shedd
Joseph E. Otis	Louis F. Swift

COMMITTEE ON STREETS AND BOULEVARDS

Clyde M. Carr, Chairman

John M. Clark	Louis A. Ferguson
Charles H. Conover	Stanley Field
Thomas E. Donnelley	John A. Spoor

COMMITTEE ON INTERURBAN ROADWAYS

Charles H. Thorne, Chairman

Benjamin Carpenter	Hugh J. McBirney
Henry J. Macfarland	Edward A. Turner

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Adolphus C. Bartlett, Chairman

Charles G. Dawes, Vice-Chairman

Charles L. Hutchinson	Byron L. Smith
Edwin A. Potter	Albert A. Sprague
Walter H. Wilson	

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

1908-9

<i>President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Rollin A. Keyes
<i>Vice-President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Albert J. Earling
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	John W. Scott
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Edwin G. Foreman

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Rollin A. Keyes	
Albert J. Earling	
John W. Scott	
Edwin G. Foreman	
John V. Farwell, Jr.	John G. Shedd
Frank H. Jones	Theodore W. Robinson
John J. Glessner	
Frederick Greeley	

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Frank H. Jones, Chairman	
Adolphus C. Bartlett	Stanley Field
John W. G. Cofran	Emerson B. Tuttle

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Theodore W. Robinson, Chairman	
Edward B. Butler	Bernard E. Sunny
Edward F. Barry	Frederic W. Upham
Clayton Mark	Charles H. Wacker

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Frank B. Noyes, Chairman	
J. Ogden Armour	John J. Glessner
John V. Farwell, Jr.	Harold F. McCormick
Alexander H. Revell	

COMMITTEE ON SMALL PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

Frederick Greeley, Chairman	
Clarence Buckingham	Allen B. Pond

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

LAKE BLUFF NAVAL TRAINING STATION COMMITTEE

Walter H. Wilson, Chairman

Alfred L. Baker

John R. Morron

Harold F. McCormick

Frederic W. Upham

COMMITTEE ON GLENWOOD SCHOOL

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

COMMITTEE ON ST. CHARLES SCHOOL

Stanley Field, Chairman

Benjamin Carpenter

COMMITTEE ON STATE PAWNERS' SOCIETY

John V. Farwell, Jr., Chairman

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

GENERAL COMMITTEE

<i>Chairman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Charles D. Norton
<i>Vice-Chairman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Charles H. Wacker
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Frederic A. Delano
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Walter H. Wilson

Adolphus C. Bartlett

Edward B. Butler

Clyde M. Carr

Charles L. Hutchinson

John V. Farwell, Jr.

Rollin A. Keyes

Joy Morton

Charles H. Thorne

COMMITTEE ON LAKE PARKS

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

Edgar A. Bancroft

John V. Farwell, Jr.

William L. Brown

Harold F. McCormick

Charles G. Dawes

John J. Mitchell

COMMITTEE ON RAILWAY TERMINALS

Joy Morton, Chairman

Adolphus C. Bartlett

Martin A. Ryerson

Franklin MacVeagh

John G. Shedd

Cyrus H. McCormick

Albert A. Sprague

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON STREETS AND BOULEVARDS

Clyde M. Carr, Chairman

Charles H. Conover	Albert A. Sprague II
Thomas E. Donnelley	Frederic W. Upham
James L. Houghteling	Charles H. Wacker

COMMITTEE ON INTERURBAN ROADWAYS

Charles H. Thorne, Chairman

Benjamin Carpenter	Homer A. Stillwell
Edward F. Carry	Charles L. Strobel

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Adolphus C. Bartlett, Chairman

Charles G. Dawes	Albert A. Sprague
Charles L. Hutchinson	Walter H. Wilson

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1907-08

<i>President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	John V. Farwell, Jr.
<i>Vice-President</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	John R. Morron
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	John W. Scott
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	David R. Forgan

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

John V. Farwell, Jr.

John R. Morron

John W. Scott

David R. Forgan

George E. Adams

Louis F. Swift

Clyde M. Carr

John G. Shedd

Charles H. Wacker

Theodore W. Robinson

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Charles H. Wacker, Chairman

Benjamin Carpenter

Frank H. Jones

Leslie Carter

Charles L. Strobel

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

Theodore W. Robinson, Chairman

Thomas E. Donnelley

Clayton Mark

Granger Farwell

Bernard E. Sunny

LAKE BLUFF NAVAL TRAINING STATION COMMITTEE

Walter H. Wilson, Chairman

Alfred L. Baker

John R. Morron

Harold F. McCormick

Frederic W. Upham

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Frank B. Noyes, Chairman

J. Ogden Armour

Harold F. McCormick

John J. Glessner

Alexander H. Revell

COMMITTEE ON SMALL PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

Frederick Greeley, Chairman

Clarence Buckingham

Allen B. Pond

BUILDING OF COMFORT STATION COMMITTEE

Edwin G. Foreman, Chairman

Charles D. Norton

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

GENERAL COMMITTEE

<i>Chairman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Charles D. Norton
<i>Vice-Chairman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Charles H. Wacker
<i>Secretary</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Frederic A. Delano
<i>Treasurer</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Walter H. Wilson

Adolphus C. Bartlett

Edward B. Butler

John V. Farwell, Jr.

Clyde M. Carr

Joy Morton

Charles H. Thorne

COMMITTEE ON LAKE FRONT

Edward B. Butler, Chairman

Leslie Carter

John V. Farwell, Jr.

Charles G. Dawes

Victor F. Lawson

Harold F. McCormick

COMMITTEE ON RAILWAY TERMINALS

Joy Morton, Chairman

Adolphus C. Bartlett

Franklin MacVeagh

William J. Chalmers

Cyrus H. McCormick

Charles H. Hulburd

Martin A. Ryerson

Chauncey Keep

John G. Shedd

Albert A. Sprague

COMMITTEE ON BOULEVARD TO CONNECT NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES

Clyde M. Carr, Chairman

Charles H. Conover

Charles H. Thorne

James L. Houghteling

Frederic W. Upham

Albert A. Sprague II

Charles H. Wacker

COMMITTEE ON INTERURBAN ROADWAYS

Charles H. Thorne, Chairman

Enos M. Barton

Frederick Greeley

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Adolphus C. Bartlett, Chairman

Charles G. Dawes

Albert A. Sprague

Charles L. Hutchinson

Walter H. Wilson

Membership
OF
The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877

THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896

UNITED 1907

ACTIVE MEMBERS

- 1899 **Arthur T. Aldis**
Real Estate
- 1901 **J. Ogden Armour**
President Armour & Co.
- 1899 **Frank H. Armstrong**
Vice-President Reid, Murdoch & Co.
- 1899 **Alfred L. Baker**
Alfred L. Baker & Co.
- 1898 **Edgar A. Bancroft**
General Counsel and Director International Harvester Co., of New Jersey
- 1896 **Nelson P. Bigelow**
President Bigelow Bros. & Walker Co.
- 1881 **J. Harley Bradley**
217 North Desplaines Street
- 1901 **William L. Brown**
President Pickands, Brown & Co.
- 1896 **Clarence Buckingham**
Real Estate
- 1902 **Eugene J. Buffington**
President Illinois Steel Co.
- 1896 **Edward B. Butler**
President Butler Brothers
- 1913 **H. M. Byllesby**
President H. M. Byllesby & Co.
- 1896 **Benjamin Carpenter**
President Geo. B. Carpenter & Co.
- 1906 **Clyde M. Carr**
President Joseph T. Ryerson & Son
- 1904 **Edward F. Carry**
First Vice-President and General Manager American Car & Foundry Co.
- 1894 **William J. Chalmers**
President Commercial National Safe Deposit Co.
- 1901 **William E. Clow**
President James B. Clow & Sons
- 1896 **Charles R. Corwith**
Real Estate

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

- 1898 Alfred Cowles
President Rialto Co.
- 1902 Charles R. Crane
President Crane Co.
- 1902 Charles G. Dawes
President Central Trust Company of Illinois
- 1902 Frederic A. Delano
Western Union Building
- 1911 Albert B. Dick
President A. B. Dick Co.
- 1902 Thomas E. Donnelley
President R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co.
- 1897 Albert J. Earling
President Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. Co.
- 1898 Bernard A. Eckhart
President B. A. Eckhart Milling Co.
- 1902 Francis C. Farwell
Treasurer John V. Farwell Co.
- 1900 Granger Farwell
649 Otis Building
- 1896 John V. Farwell
President John V. Farwell Co.
- 1912 Henry B. Favill
32 N. State Street
- 1906 Samuel M. Felton
President Chicago Great Western R. R. Co.
- 1899 Louis A. Ferguson
Second Vice-President Commonwealth Edison Co.
- 1906 Stanley Field
Vice-President Marshall Field & Co.
- 1896 Edwin G. Foreman
President Foreman Brothers Banking Co.
- 1902 David R. Forgan
President National City Bank of Chicago
- 1912 William A. Gardner
President Chicago & North Western Ry. Co.
- 1884 John J. Glessner
Vice-President International Harvester Co. of New Jersey
- 1913 Richard C. Hall
Western Selling Agent United States Rubber Co.
- 1897 Ernest A. Hamill
President Corn Exchange National Bank
- 1913 Edmund D. Hulbert
Vice-President Merchants Loan & Trust Co.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

- 1882 **Charles L. Hutchinson**
Vice-President Corn Exchange National Bank
- 1898 **David B. Jones**
President Mineral Point Zinc Co.
- 1901 **Frank H. Jones**
Secretary Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank
- 1900 **Chauncey Keep**
112 W. Adams Street
- 1896 **Rollin A. Keyes**
President Franklin MacVeagh & Co.
- 1899 **Victor F. Lawson**
President The Chicago Daily News Co.
- 1878 **Franklin MacVeagh**
194 North Wabash Avenue
- 1901 **Clayton Mark**
Vice-President National Malleable Castings Co.
- 1912 **Charles H. Markham**
President Illinois Central Railroad Co.
- 1897 **Hugh J. McBirney**
Assistant Manager National Lead Co.
- 1897 **Alexander A. McCormick**
President Board of Cook County Commissioners
- 1885 **Cyrus H. McCormick**
President International Harvester Co. of New Jersey
- 1898 **Harold F. McCormick**
Vice-President and Treasurer International Harvester Co. of New Jersey
- 1904 **Medill McCormick**
3 South Dearborn Street
- 1899 **Hiram R. McCullough**
Vice-President Chicago & North Western Ry. Co.
- 1896 **Arthur Meeker**
Vice-President Armour & Co.
- 1901 **George Merryweather**
606 Straus Building
- 1896 **John J. Mitchell**
President Illinois Trust and Savings Bank
- 1896 **John R. Morron**
President Atlas Portland Cement Co.
- 1901 **Joy Morton**
Joy Morton & Co.
- 1906 **Mark Morton**
President Western Cold Storage Co.
- 1901 **La Verne W. Noyes**
President Aermotor Co.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

- 1904 Joseph E. Otis
Vice-President Central Trust Co. of Illinois
- 1901 Allen B. Pond
Pond & Pond
- 1902 Edwin A. Potter
525 American Trust Building
- 1896 Alexander H. Revell
President Alexander H. Revell & Co.
- 1910 George M. Reynolds
President The Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago
- 1912 Harrison B. Riley
President Chicago Title and Trust Co.
- 1903 Theodore W. Robinson
First Vice-President Illinois Steel Co.
- 1910 Julius Rosenwald
President Sears, Roebuck & Co.
- 1888 Martin A. Ryerson
134 S. La Salle Street
- 1905 John W. Scott
Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co.
- 1896 Louis A. Seeberger
Louis A. Seeberger & Co.
- 1897 John G. Shedd
President Marshall Field & Co.
- 1896 Byron L. Smith
President The Northern Trust Co.
- 1904 Walter B. Smith
653 The Rookery
- 1877 Albert A. Sprague
President Sprague, Warner & Co.
- 1903 Albert A. Sprague II
Vice-President Sprague, Warner & Co.
- 1906 Homer A. Stillwell
Vice-President Butler Brothers
- 1900 Bernard E. Sunny
President Chicago Telephone Co.
- 1901 Louis F. Swift
President Swift & Co.
- 1906 Edward F. Swift
Vice-President Swift & Co.
- 1902 Charles H. Thorne
Treasurer Montgomery Ward & Co.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

- 1904 Edward A. Turner
404 S. Michigan Ave.
- 1897 Emerson B. Tuttle
Real Estate
- 1899 Frederic W. Upham
President Consumers Company
- 1897 Charles H. Wacker
Real Estate
- 1912 Harry A. Wheeler
Vice-President Union Trust Co.
- 1905 John E. Wilder
Vice-President Wilder & Co.
- 1896 Walter H. Wilson
Walter H. Wilson & Co.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

- 1899 George Everett Adams
108 S. La Salle St.
- 1899 Edward E. Ayer
Vice-President Ayer & Lord Tie Co.
- 1882 Adolphus C. Bartlett
President Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co.
- 1898 Enos M. Barton
Chairman Board of Directors Western Electric Co.
- 1901 Charles H. Conover
Vice-President Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co.
- 1899 Rensselaer W. Cox
President Pioneer Cooperage Co.
- 1904 J. J. Dau
President Reid, Murdoch & Co.
- 1902 James B. Forgan
President First National Bank of Chicago
- 1877 William A. Fuller
112 W. Adams St.
- 1889 Franklin H. Head
6106 Kenmore Avenue
- 1878 Marvin Hughitt
Chairman Board of Directors Chicago & North Western Ry. Co
- 1900 Charles H. Hulburd
President Elgin National Watch Co.
- 1899 Samuel Insull
President Commonwealth Edison Co.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

- 1891 Herman H. Kohlsaat
Inter-Ocean Newspaper Co.
- 1898 Robert T. Lincoln
Chairman Board of Directors The Pullman Co.
- 1898 Edward P. Ripley
President Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Ry. Co.
- 1899 John A. Spoor
Chairman Board of Directors Union Stock Yard and Transit Co.
- 1896 Charles L. Strobel
President Strobel Steel Construction Co.
- 1903 William S. Warren
Hulburt, Warren & Chandler

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1896 Richard M. Bissell
Hartford | 1896 William Kent
Kentfield, Cal. |
| 1895 Robert C. Clowry
New York | 1878 William Munro
London |
| 1880 The Right Hon.
Lord Leith of Fyvie
Scotland | 1902 Charles D. Norton
New York |
| 1880 Lyman J. Gage
Point Loma, Cal. | 1902 Frank B. Noyes
Washington, D. C. |
| 1902 John F. Harris
New York | 1890 Norman B. Ream
New York |
| 1898 Charles H. Hodges
Detroit | 1899 James Gamble
Rogers
New York |
| 1902 Edward D. Kenna
New York | 1896 H. Gordon Selfridge
London |
| | 1894 Melville E. Stone
New York |

RETIRED MEMBERS

- 1878 Eliphalet W. Blatchford
- 1877 John M. Clark
- 1887 Harlow N. Higinbotham
- 1877 Henry J. Macfarland
- 1877 Murry Nelson
- 1881 William H. Rand

DECEASED MEMBERS

DECEASED MEMBERS

Solomon Albert Smith	November, 1879
Edward Swan Stickney	March, 1880
James Monroe Walker	January, 1881
Richard C. Meldrum	April, 1881
George Armour	June, 1881
John Clark Coonley	October, 1882
Charles Palmer Kellogg	April, 1883
Anson Stager	March, 1885
John Winkinson McGenniss	May, 1885
George Clinton Clarke	April, 1887
Martin Ryerson	September, 1887
John Crerar	October, 1889
William Emerson Strong	April, 1891
Uri Balcom	November, 1893
John Burroughs Drake	November, 1895
Charles Mather Henderson	January, 1896
Edson Keith	November, 1896
James Wheeler Oakley	January, 1897
Henry Baldwin Stone	July, 1897
George Mortimer Pullman	October, 1897
Louis Wampold	February, 1898
Henry William King	April, 1898
John DeKoven	April, 1898
William Charles Dustin Grannis	August, 1898
Robert Alexander Waller	February, 1899
George Walker Meeker	April, 1899
Charles Fargo	October, 1900
Philip Danforth Armour	January, 1901
John Wesley Doane	March, 1901
Alexander Caldwell McClurg	April, 1901
John Spragins Hannah	July, 1901
Anthony Frederick Seeberger	July, 1901

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

John James Janes	August, 1901
Dunlap Smith	December, 1901
Nathaniel Kellogg Fairbank	March, 1903
Charles Benjamin Farwell	September, 1903
William Taylor Baker	October, 1903
William Gold Hibbard	October, 1903
Elias Taylor Watkins	December, 1903
Christoph Hotz	January, 1904
Hermon Beardsley Butler	February, 1904
Eugene Cary	March, 1904
Levi Zeigler Leiter	June, 1904
George Clarke Walker	April, 1905
Elbridge Gerry Keith	May, 1905
Graeme Stewart	June, 1905
Rockwell King	July, 1905
William Chisholm	December, 1905
Marshall Field	January, 1906
William Rainey Harper	January, 1906
Peter Schuttler	September, 1906
James Herron Eckels	April, 1907
Orrin Woodward Potter	May, 1907
John M. Durand	November, 1907
Francis Bolles Peabody	January, 1908
Andrew Brown	August, 1908
Leslie Carter	September, 1908
Charles Frederick Kimball	January, 1909
Otho S. A. Sprague	February, 1909
Charles Leffingwell Bartlett	March, 1909
Turlington W. Harvey	September, 1909
Thomas Murdoch	December, 1909
Henry Homes Porter	March, 1910
Erskine Mason Phelps	May, 1910
James Lawrence Houghteling	July, 1910
Paul Morton	January, 1911
Joseph Tilton Bowen	March, 1911

DECEASED MEMBERS

Augustus Alvord Carpenter	September, 1911
Robert Mather	October, 1911
Richard T. Crane	January, 1912
John W. G. Cofran	January, 1912
Frederick Greeley	January, 1912
James T. Harahan	January, 1912
Daniel H. Burnham	June, 1912
Arthur D. Wheeler	August, 1912
Thies J. Lefens	April, 1913

Subjects of Meetings
OF
The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877

THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896

UNITED 1907

SUBJECTS OF MEETINGS OF THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1907

GEORGE E. ADAMS, President

APRIL 6.— One Hundred and Ninety-sixth Regular Meeting.

The City and the State.

RT. HONORABLE JAMES BRYCE, BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

APRIL 27.— One Hundred and Ninety-seventh Regular and Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

Plan of Chicago.

General Discussion.

1907-08

JOHN V. FARWELL, JR., President

MAY 31.— Special Meeting.

Formal Dinner in honor of General Baron Kuroki.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. W. GREELY, U. S. A., COMMANDER OF THE NORTHERN DIVISION; HONORABLE GEORGE E. ADAMS.

NOVEMBER 9.— One Hundred and Ninety-eighth Regular Meeting.

The Effect of Industrial Education upon the German Empire.

DR. K. G. RUDOLPH LEONHARD, JR., UNIVERSITY OF Breslau.

The Effect of Industrial Education upon Labor.

JOHN GOLDEN, PRESIDENT UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Possibilities of Industrial Education in America.

HENRY S. PRITCHETT, PRESIDENT CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

DECEMBER 14.— One Hundred and Ninety-ninth Regular Meeting.

Public Domain.— Department of the Interior.

HONORABLE ETHAN A. HITCHCOCK, EX-SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Forestry, Irrigation, and Public Lands.

GEORGE H. MAXWELL, EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN, THE NATIONAL IRRIGATION ASSOCIATION.

JANUARY 11.— Two Hundredth Regular Meeting.

The Principles of Infection and the Tuberculosis Problem.

DR. L. HEKTOEN, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR INFECTIOUS DISEASES; DR. HENRY BAIRD FAVILL; DR. FRANK BILLINGS; DR. WILLIAM A. EVANS, COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH OF CHICAGO.

JANUARY 25.— Two Hundred and First Regular Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

Plan of Chicago.

General Discussion.

MARCH 14.— Two Hundred and Second Regular Meeting.

The Government and Business.

WOODROW WILSON, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

APRIL 4.— Two Hundred and Third Regular Meeting.

Formal Dinner in honor of the Honorable William H. Taft, Secretary of War.

MAY 2.— Two Hundred and Fourth Regular and Thirtieth Annual Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

1908-09

ROLLIN A. KEYES, President

NOVEMBER 3.— Special Meeting.

Informal Dinner to receive returns of election.

NOVEMBER 14.— Two Hundred and Fifth Regular Meeting.

The Public Schools of our Large Cities; their Administration and Curriculum.

JOHN H. FINLEY, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF YORK.

SUBJECTS OF MEETINGS

DECEMBER 12.— Two Hundred and Sixth Regular Meeting.
The Psychologist and the Practical Life.

PROFESSOR HUGO MUNSTERBERG OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

JANUARY 9.— Two Hundred and Seventh Regular Meeting.
Parole, Probation, and Indeterminate Sentence.

MAJOR R. W. CLAUGHRY OF FT. LEAVENWORTH.

JUDGE ALBERT C. BARNES OF CHICAGO.

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK OF CHICAGO.

JUDGE CHARLES S. CUTTING OF CHICAGO.

FEBRUARY 13.— Two Hundred and Eighth Regular Meeting.

The People and the Courts.

MR. EDGAR A. BANCROFT.

APRIL 10.— Two Hundred and Ninth Regular and Thirty-first Annual Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

Club guests of Mr. John J. Glessner at his home, 1800
Prairie Avenue.

1909-10

THEODORE W. ROBINSON, President

JUNE 5.— Special Meeting.

Formal Dinner in honor of The Honorable Franklin
MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury, and The Hon-
orable Jacob M. Dickinson, Secretary of War.

SEPTEMBER 16.— Special Meeting.

Luncheon in honor of William Howard Taft, President
of the United States.

NOVEMBER 6.— Two Hundred and Tenth Regular Meeting.

The Work of the National Monetary Commission.

SENATOR NELSON W. ALDRICH.

DECEMBER.— Omitted.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

JANUARY 11.—Two Hundred and Eleventh Regular Meeting.

The Presentation of the Plan of Chicago.

MR. CHARLES D. NORTON.

MR. CHARLES H. WACKER.

ALDERMAN BERNARD W. SNOW.

FEBRUARY 19.—Two Hundred and Twelfth Regular Meeting.

Employers' Liability and Industrial Insurance.

THE HONORABLE CHARLES NAGEL, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.
GEORGE M. GILLETTE, MEMBER OF MINNESOTA EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION.

MARCH 26.—Two Hundred and Thirteenth Regular Meeting.

A Federal Immigration Station in Chicago.

SENATOR WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK, PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

APRIL 9.—Two Hundred and Fourteenth Regular and Thirty-second Annual Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

1910-11

DAVID R. FORGAN, President

JUNE 4.—Special Meeting.

Informal Dinner in Honor of The Commercial Club of Cincinnati.

NOVEMBER 12.—Two Hundred and Fifteenth Regular Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING: The Commercial Club: Its Past, Present, and Future.

MR. JOHN J. GLESSNER.

MR. FRANK H. JONES.

MR. ALFRED L. BAKER.

SUBJECTS OF MEETINGS

DECEMBER 10.—Two Hundred and Sixteenth Regular Meeting.

Government of Cities by Commission.

JOHN MACVICAR, MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF DES MOINES, IOWA.

H. BALDWIN RICE, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF HOUSTON, TEXAS.

WALTER H. WILSON, COMPTROLLER OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO.

JANUARY 26.—Two Hundred and Seventeenth Regular Meeting.

Increasing Cost of Armaments and Rising Cost of Living.

HONORABLE W. BOURKE COCKRAN, OF NEW YORK CITY.

FEBRUARY 25.—Two Hundred and Eighteenth Regular Meeting.

The Aldrich Plan for Banking Legislation.

FRANK A. VANDERLIP, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

MARCH.—Omitted.

APRIL 8.—Two Hundred and Nineteenth Regular and Thirty-third Annual Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

1911-12

FREDERIC A. DELANO, President

OCTOBER 10.—Special Closed Meeting.

Exhibition of material on industrial education collected in Europe by Dr. Edwin G. Cooley, Educational Adviser of the Club.

NOVEMBER 11.—Two Hundred and Twentieth Regular Meeting.

Vocational Education.

HERMAN SCHNEIDER, PH. D., DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI.

CHARLES H. WINSLOW, SPECIAL AGENT OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

NOVEMBER 21.—Special Closed Meeting.

Report on Investigation of Industrial Education in Europe.

EDWIN G. COOLEY, LL. D., EDUCATIONAL ADVISER OF THE CLUB.

Industrial and Technical Education.

MR. RICHARD T. CRANE.

General Discussion.

DECEMBER 9.—Two Hundred and Twenty-first Regular Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

The Trusts.

MR. ALFRED L. BAKER.

Vocational Education.

MR. WILLIAM L. BROWN.

Some Phases of the Club's Activity in the Work of Its Committees.

MR. CLYDE M. CARR.

Optimism.

MR. JOHN J. GLESSNER.

The Welfare of Chicago.

MR. CHARLES L. HUTCHINSON.

Public Service Corporations.

MR. SAMUEL INSULL.

Currency Legislation and Currency Reform.

MR. GEORGE M. REYNOLDS.

Co-operation.

MR. JOHN W. SCOTT.

Business.

MR. LOUIS F. SWIFT.

Industrial Insurance.

MR. CHARLES H. THORNE.

SUBJECTS OF MEETINGS

JANUARY 13.—Two Hundred and Twenty-second Regular Meeting.

The Welfare of the Children.

How to Prevent Delinquency.

MRS. JOSEPH T. BOWEN, PRESIDENT OF THE JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

The Funds to Parents Act and How to Treat Delinquency.

HON. MERRITT W. PINCKNEY, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY AND JUDGE OF THE JUVENILE COURT.

FEBRUARY 10.—Two Hundred and Twenty-third Regular Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

The Trust Problem.

MR. EDGAR A. BANCROFT.

Taxation.

MR ADOLPHUS C. BARTLETT.

The Lake Front Improvement.

MR. EDWARD B. BUTLER.

Supervision of the Trusts.

MR. DAVID R. FORGAN.

Industrial Education.

MR. THEODORE W. ROBINSON.

The Panama Canal.

MR. JOHN E. WILDER.

MARCH 16.—Two Hundred and Twenty-fourth Regular Meeting.

Education for National Efficiency.

GEORGE E. VINCENT, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

APRIL 13.—Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth Regular and Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

Discussion of Reform of Taxation in Illinois.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1912-13

CLYDE M. CARR, President

MAY 6.—Special Closed Meeting.

Report of Committee Appointed to Consider the Advisability of the Club Taking Action Looking to the Reform of Revenue Laws of the State of Illinois.

NOVEMBER 9.—Two Hundred and Twenty-sixth Regular Meeting.

Necessary Reforms in the System of State Taxation in Illinois.

Why There is Urgent Need of Reform.

MR. JOHN P. WILSON.

Fundamental Condition of Achieving Reform.

DR. EDMUND J. JAMES, PRESIDENT UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

Necessary Changes in Administration to Secure Permanent Reform

MR. HARRISON B. RILEY, PRESIDENT CHICAGO TITLE & TRUST COMPANY.

DECEMBER 14.—Two Hundred and Twenty-seventh Regular Meeting.

What is Progress in Politics?

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, PRESIDENT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

JANUARY 11.—Two Hundred and Twenty-eighth Regular Meeting.

The Business Future of the Country.

GOVERNOR WOODROW WILSON.
President-Elect of the United States.

SUBJECTS OF MEETINGS

FEBRUARY 8.—Two Hundred and Twenty-ninth Regular Meeting.

CLOSED MEETING.

Federal Immigration Station in Chicago.

MR. JOHN E. WILDER.

Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws.

MR. BERNARD A. ECKHART.

Vocational Education.

MR. CLAYTON MARK.

MR. EDWIN G. COOLEY.

MR. EDWARD F. CARRY.

MR. ALLEN B. POND.

Plan of Chicago.

MR. EDWARD B. BUTLER.

Stereopticon Lecture.

MR. WALTER D. MOODY.

MARCH 8.—Two Hundred and Thirtieth Regular Meeting.

The Department of the Interior.

HON. WALTER L. FISHER, SECRETARY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Stereopticon Views and Moving Pictures Illustrative of the Scope and Work of The Department of the Interior.

MR. C. J. BLANCHARD, OF THE RECLAMATION SERVICE.

APRIL 25.—Two Hundred and Thirty-first Regular and Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting.

Plan of Chicago.

Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws.

Federal Immigration Station in Chicago.

Vocational Education.

NOTE

(From Year-Book of 1909)

The list of meetings and subjects gives only an inadequate idea of the activities of The Commercial Club and The Merchants Club, but indicates that they have extended over municipal, state, and national affairs, and have included governmental, commercial and educational, moral, charitable and esthetic subjects.

For many years, The Commercial Club confined its efforts to discussions and suggestions, with a distinct policy not to take up and, as a Club, conduct any particular work, and only occasionally has it departed from this policy.

Of the two hundred and eighty-three meetings that have been held by the two Clubs, it is within bounds to say that each one has helped to forward some good end, and many of them have been the initial and moving causes of important accomplishments. It would be invidious and almost impossible to estimate the relative value of these meetings or say which was the most important, bearing in mind that, in any great permanent work, the prime necessity is for forming public opinion before there can be any accomplishment.

Perhaps the meetings from which The Commercial Club's influence was most directly and speedily felt were those that resulted in founding the Chicago Manual Training School; in presenting to the United States Government the site for Fort Sheridan, and, to the State, the site for the Second Regiment Armory; in the prosecution and punishment of certain county and municipal officials; in the original efforts for legislation for the Drainage Canal; in its early advocacy and support of the World's Columbian Exposition; in raising endowment funds

SUBJECTS OF MEETINGS

for the Illinois Manual Training School at Glenwood and the St. Charles School for Boys; also in presenting to the city a site for public playgrounds at Chicago Avenue and Lincoln Street. The meetings from which The Merchants Club's influence was most directly felt were those that resulted in establishing the First State Pawnors' Society; in the inquiry into the City's accounting methods that resulted in new and improved systems; and most of all, in its earnest efforts to amend the general school law in order to provide improvements in the system of public education; and in the inception and development of the Chicago Plan, which work was later continued by the united Commercial Club and Merchants Club. The joint effort of both Clubs resulted in presenting to the United States Government a site for the Naval Training School at Lake Bluff, and in establishing a street cleaning bureau for the City.

These and other philanthropic and public-spirited works of these two Clubs, now merged into one, have involved the collection and disbursement of more than a million of dollars, and have been potent in many reforms and improvements.

Proceedings of Regular and Special Meetings

Club Year 1912-1913

The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877

THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896

UNITED 1907

Special Meeting (Closed)— May 6, 1912	Report of Committee Appointed to Consider the Advisability of the Club Taking Action Looking to the Reform of Revenue Laws of the State of Illinois.
226th Regular Meeting . . . November 9, 1912	Necessary Reforms in the System of State Taxation in Illinois.
227th Regular Meeting . . . December 14, 1912	What is Progress in Politics?
228th Regular Meeting . . . January 11, 1913	The Business Future of the Country.
229th Regular Meeting (Closed) . . . February 8, 1913	Reports of Committees.
230th Regular Meeting . . . March 8, 1913	The Department of the Interior.
231st Regular and 35th Annual Meeting (Closed) April 25, 1913	Presentation of Annual Reports.

SPECIAL MEETING

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1912

Closed Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE ADVISABILITY OF THE CLUB TAKING ACTION LOOKING TO THE REFORM OF REVENUE LAWS OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, will you come to order, please.

At the annual meeting of the Club a resolution was passed, authorizing the Executive Committee to appoint a special committee to investigate the question of Reform in Taxation and to consider the advisability of favoring an increase from one to three amendments to the constitution each year, which question is now before the legislature in special session. The Executive Committee authorized the appointment of a committee of which Mr. A. C. Bartlett is chairman. That committee has met and unanimously voted to favor a certain policy. The Executive Committee felt that it would be proper to call a general meeting and afford an opportunity for an expression of opinion. I will ask Mr. Bartlett, who is chairman of that special committee, to favor us with his report.

(Mr. Bartlett submitted the following report:)

“Report of committee appointed by the Commercial Club to consider the advisability of the Club taking action looking to the reform of Revenue Laws of the State of Illinois.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

“The committee met May 1, 1912. There were present:

Mr. A. C. Bartlett,
Mr. A. D. Wheeler,
Mr. C. H. McCormick,
Mr. W. H. Wilson,
Mr. F. W. Upham,
Mr. B. A. Eckhart,
Mr. Victor Lawson,
Mr. J. P. Wilson,
Mr. A. A. Sprague II,

“Mr. John P. Wilson coming, on invitation, to give the committee information regarding the previous effort made in the same direction.

“After a full discussion, it was unanimously recommended to the Executive Committee that it empower the special committee to take immediate action to aid in securing the constitutional amendment now before the legislature providing for three amendments to the constitution of the State at any one session, as preliminary to the proposed reform of revenue laws. It was further recommended that the special committee be given full power to act in securing the co-operation of other civic or protective bodies seeking the same end.

“Inasmuch as prompt action seemed necessary, it was decided to apportion the civic bodies among the members of the committee to secure such co-operation, all being predicated upon the affirmative action of the Executive Committee.

“Invitations have been extended to some of the organizations in the city and have been accepted.

“The committee submits the foregoing as the report of its action under instructions of the Club.

“A. C. BARTLETT, *Chairman.*”

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVENUE LAWS

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, you have heard the report; what is your pleasure?

MR. JOHN W. SCOTT: In view of the report of the committee, I should like to offer the following resolution:

“RESOLVED, That the Commercial Club recommend that the Executive Committee empower the special committee on taxation to take up immediately the securing of the constitutional amendment now before the legislature providing for three amendments to the constitution of the State in any one session, and giving them full power to act; also recommending that this committee invite the co-operation of any other bodies seeking the same end.”

The idea in offering this, Mr. President, is to secure an expression from the Club to the Executive Committee.

PRESIDENT CARR: You have heard Mr. Scott's resolution. Is there a second?

(The resolution was seconded.)

PRESIDENT CARR: Any remarks on the resolution? I should like to have a full and free expression here from anyone outside of the Executive Committee. If there are no remarks, all those in favor of the resolution will signify by saying “aye.”

(The motion prevailed unanimously.)

PRESIDENT CARR: This is all the business before the meeting to-day. The meeting stands adjourned.

Meeting adjourned.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH REGULAR MEETING

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1912

Open Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

NECESSARY REFORMS IN THE SYSTEM OF STATE TAXATION IN ILLINOIS

Why There is Urgent Need of Reform

Mr. John P. Wilson

Fundamental Condition of Achieving Reform

Dr. Edmund J. James

President University of Illinois

Necessary Changes in Administration to Secure Permanent
Reform

Mr. Harrison B. Riley

President Chicago Title & Trust Company

PRESIDENT CARR: Honored guests, and members of the Commercial Club, I am constrained to congratulate the club on its good fortune in having as guests, so many members and members elect, of the legislature from all portions of our State. On behalf of the Club, I extend to all guests a most cordial welcome, and a particular word of appreciation to those who have journeyed to Chicago today from distant parts of the State of Illinois. We are assembled to still further familiarize ourselves with one of the twin certainties for mortal man. A demand exists

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world-wide in its insistency to equalize the burdens of taxation. Surely, no one claiming an interest in the welfare of state or society can fail to appreciate the necessity for lending a hand in an effort to reform the antiquated and unsatisfactory system of taxation in Illinois. As the matter stands to-day, a premium is put on evasion and a burden on conscientiousness. Honest people are convinced that their honesty subjects them to extortion. That such conditions obtain in the methods of raising our revenues is undeniable and indefensible. Surely there should be no smug indifference towards a great problem such as this, involving, as it does, the ethics of our commonwealth.

The Commercial Club is deeply sensible of the importance of this gathering, and the significance of the subject of the evening. I shall not assume to trespass on the time of the speakers, save to say a word as to the reason for this meeting.

At the 34th annual meeting of the Commercial Club, April 13th, last, our members engaged in a general discussion of Illinois taxation, and this led to the appointment of a special committee on taxation, of which Mr. A. C. Bartlett is chairman, and your Executive Committee decided to devote the first of our winter meetings to the subject—"Necessary Reforms in the System of State Taxation in Illinois." Under authority of the 46th general assembly, Governor Deneen appointed a special tax commission, to inquire into the subject of taxation and the expediency of revising laws relating thereto. This commission has made its report, and merits the warmest praise. Unselfish devotion to the public service on the part of the members of this commission was evidenced by the report transmitted to the governor, and a still further evidence of such devotion on the part of three members of the commission is shown by their presence this evening, prepared to give us the benefit of their research and labors.

The first speaker needs no introduction to this company, He will tell us why there is urgent need of reform. It gives me very great pleasure to present Mr. John P. Wilson. Dean of the Chicago Bar.

WHY THERE IS URGENT NEED OF REFORM

BY MR. JOHN P. WILSON

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is a fundamental requirement of a satisfactory taxing system that if perfectly administered it should operate equally upon individuals, and impose uniform burdens upon property of the same class without regard to its ownership. It is also essential to the welfare of the community that the provisions of a revenue law should be such that the assessing officer can keep his official oath without bringing disaster upon the community; and that every citizen should be able to make an honest return under oath of all his property, without being obliged to change his investments or his place of residence.

These conditions do not exist under the revenue system in force in the State of Illinois, and in the few minutes allotted to me to address you I will endeavor to point out wherein our system fails to meet these requirements.

The foundation of our revenue system was laid in the constitution adopted when the state was admitted into the union. The same provision in substance, with some enlargement, has been continued in each of the two subsequent constitutions adopted by this state. The main provision upon this subject in the original constitution reads:

“The mode of levying a tax shall be by valuation so that every person shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of the property he or she has in his or her possession.”

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Nothing could read clearer than that. In the constitution of 1848 the clause reads:

“The General Assembly shall provide for levying a tax by valuation so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property.”

Note the word “corporation” is introduced. Our present constitution provides:

“The General Assembly shall provide such revenue as may be needful by levying a tax by valuation so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property.”

The essential requirement of those constitutional provisions is that all property within the jurisdiction of the state, without regard to its kind and without regard to its ownership shall be taxed in proportion to its value.

While there is much criticism upon the plan of raising revenue by a general property tax, levied in proportion to value it is doubtful upon the whole whether it perhaps would not give as much satisfaction as any other system that we are likely to adopt, if it had been carried into effect under the laws and decisions of our courts. The difficulty lies in the application of this principle, that every kind of property shall bear the burden in proportion to its value regardless of its ownership.

Now the question as to what is property varies with the point of view or the purpose with regard to which you are viewing it. An early case by our Supreme Court illustrates the evil which arose at a very early date. One farmer sold to his neighbor a part of his farm by contract on credit. There was no increase of property by the sale of that farm. There was only the same piece of land worth the same amount of money after the sale as before the sale and yet our Supreme Court held that the land must be taxed as before and the purchase price must also be taxed. So that if the farm was worth ten thousand dollars and sold for

ten thousand dollars on credit, they had to pay taxes on twenty thousand dollars instead of ten thousand dollars without there being any more property.

The result was, credits were and are now taxed as property. You do not increase property by issuing promissory notes. If property could be increased by issuing promissory notes it would be an easy way for a community to increase its wealth. So the inception of the difficulty and the departure from having all property taxed equally, was the introduction of taxing credits, and it has been very fruitful of evil not only in this state but in every state where it has been tried. It is unproductive and disastrous to the enforcement of law and to the respect for law.

In connection with this question of the revenue law and the tax commission, I have received letters which point to the bank deposits as the most shining example of property escaping taxation, and expressing the desire to have penalties attached in order to enforce the taxation of such deposits. In Chicago in the banks there are approximately a thousand millions of dollars of deposits. The total assessment on money in the year 1909 in Cook county was about one million dollars. Even our Supreme Court in discussing this question in a case in the 150 Illinois say that bank deposits are to be assessed as money, not as credits but as money the same as though the money, gold or silver, was in the depositor's possession. The difficulty is that not only the depositor has not got the money, but the bank has not got the money. There isn't any thousand million dollars of money in the banks of Chicago. If you turn to the report of the Clearing House banks of New York published in this evening's paper you will see there are about one thousand nine hundred millions of loans and one thousand seven hundred millions of deposits in the clearing house banks, so that all the deposits are loaned and not represented by money in bank. The capital surplus

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and undivided earnings are taxed to the banks in taxing their shares and represent all the money there is in the banks, or approximately so. The balance of the banks assets are credits, and it would be fatal to undertake to assess all the deposits in bank as money, and they do not exist as money. They exist only as credits and should be governed by the rules applicable to credits.

The second instance in which equality in taxation fails under our law arises from the important part which corporations play in the modern business world. Great commercial cities to-day have a very large part of their business transacted through corporations. Our law in this state provides that if a corporation doing business here is not incorporated in this state, not only must the corporation pay full taxes on its property, but the owners of its shares of stock must be taxed upon the full value of such shares, although the corporation and the shareholders own the same property, and you thus have double taxation. At the present time the percentage of the tax to the net return on capital is so large that no business and no investor will or can stand double taxation. Hence that law is not carried out; not carried out here and not carried out in any state in the union. If a man is selected to be punished by being taxed on his shares of stock in a corporation which is also taxed, he will change his investment or change his residence. On the other hand a corporation organized under the laws of Illinois is subject to what is called a capital stock tax, and by capital stock is meant the whole assets of the corporation and not its shares of stock or its nominal capital.

You will note the constitutional provision says: "The tax shall be so levied that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property." In making the capital stock assessment, the State Board of Equalization by the rules adopted and approved by the Supreme Court as correct, add the amount of the debts

of a corporation to the value of its shares of stock to ascertain the taxable value of the property of the corporation, on the claim that the value of its stock equals the value of its property less the amount of its debts. Now what elements do you get into the capital stock assessment in the case of an Illinois corporation? You get the value of its good will and you also capitalize the earning capacity of its organization. In many instances those items are perhaps as large as the whole of its tangible property.

Take for example a manufacturing or commercial partnership, where in order perhaps to give the employes some stock to share in the profits, or to prevent the disturbance arising from the possible death of a partner it becomes incorporated under the Illinois statute. The corporation hasn't any more property than the partnership; there has simply been a change in the form of its ownership. As a partnership the business was not taxable upon its good will, and no capitalization of its earning capacity over and above the value of its tangible property was included in the assessment. As a corporation, the entire basis of taxation is changed by taxing its good will and capitalizing its earning capacity in the teeth of the constitution which says that taxes shall be so levied by valuation that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property.

These are fundamental instances in which our revenue law operates so unfairly, so unjustly, so unequally, that it is not enforced. It never has been enforced fairly and generally in this state nor has any similar law in any other state in the union.

The result is very unfortunate. The charge is made that our revenue laws are not enforced. Speeches are made, "Look how the man of wealth, the business men of the community evade paying their just taxes imposed by the law." The idea is inculcated that they are dishonest, and

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when a man dies so he cannot change his investment and he cannot move away, his estate is in the court, then the assessors get the list and make assessments which are not enforced against the living. The widow and family have to pay an unequal and excessive tax, and the good name of the man who paid taxes on the same basis as all of you is held up as an example of dishonesty.

Take for instance the assessment upon the shares of stock of the banks. It has the same vice in it as the tax on corporations I have already mentioned. When you take the market value of the bank stock it includes the good will and the earning capacity of the bank; not simply the excess of assets over liabilities. Now Chicago is a pretty large financial center. It has to compete with other financial centers where such taxation is not attempted. The result is a recognized custom to tax the banks like other taxpayers, like the owners of real estate, and like the owners of merchandise. The constitution says that every person and corporation is to pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property, and when the banks pay upon their capital, surplus and undivided earnings, they pay upon the same basis as the rest of the community, and practically the basis which is enforced in other cities with which they have to compete; and yet it affords a basis for charging the owners of the banks with evading the law and being tax dodgers.

Our Supreme Court many years ago when the law required that all property should be taxed at its fair value, in a case where the assessors assessed property generally at 40 per cent and railroad property at 100 per cent of its value decided that equality was the fundamental requirement, and that the railroad property should be assessed upon the same basis as other property in the same community. But there always lies the possibility and the danger of the law being enforced as to particular individuals, and particular

corporations, and producing hardship to those so taxed and injury to the community.

This situation cannot be remedied by undertaking to enforce the law because if the law was perfectly enforced it would bring disaster. Suppose it were possible to compel every bank deposit in Chicago on the first of April to be taxed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent? Could our banks continue to go on and maintain the financial standing of the city of Chicago? This plan of taxation has been tried out in practically all of the states of the union. They have had tax commissions sitting in the various northern states, and there is a unanimity of report and conclusion that it is impossible to enforce the taxation of credits; that it is impossible to enforce double taxation. It is easy to make a statement that that is the conclusion, but I wish in order to show how clear are these conclusions and how unanimous they are, to read a few extracts from the reports of tax commissions which have been appointed in a few of the states. While I do not like to read in making an address of this kind, I think under the circumstances for the purpose here, I am justified in doing so.

The New Hampshire Tax Commission, in its report, says: "The struggle to tax securities has continued in this country for more than two hundred years and is growing more bitter and disastrous for the morals of the people, and the end sought is further away than ever."

In California, the California Commission report: "This requirement of our law that money and credits should be taxed may therefore be set down as an absolute failure, and the question arises as to whether it can be enforced and whether, if it cannot be enforced, if it should not be entirely repealed.

"It seems, then, to be futile to try to tax this class of property, and the underlying reason for the failure to reach it, and for the objection which people in general have to

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paying it, is probably to be found in the fundamental fact that it should not be taxed at all. It is the universal opinion among authorities on public finance and economists in general that the laws relating to the taxation of this class of property, *eo nomine*, should be repealed."

In Wisconsin, and I may say that Wisconsin has changed its constitution and is proceeding along entirely different lines in raising revenue, the Wisconsin Commission says: "The tax upon credits is not a logical or essential feature of the general property tax system. The essential principle of the general property system is to tax property. The credit tax is not a tax upon property but upon a mere fiction specially enacted for that purpose. In its relation to the general property system it has no logical connection; it is an excrescence, a monstrosity, having no basis in economic truth or in substantial justice; working only wrong and injury to individuals and disadvantage to the people as a whole. There can be no substitute for such a thing; there is nothing good in it to be retained by substitute; being wholly bad, it should be lopped off absolutely and without further delay," and they have done so.

In Ohio the Commission says: "The value of all credits returned was \$34,000,000 less in 1906 than it was in 1890, and \$16,000,000 less than it was in 1870. The value of all stocks and bonds was \$2,575,000 less in 1906 than it was in 1880, and the value of all intangible property, including moneys, credits, stocks and bonds, as returned for taxation, was nearly \$8,000,000 less in 1906 than it was in 1890." They have this year amended their constitution and proceeded to make a change.

"This widespread concealment of intangible property, increasing in amount year by year, is the most convincing proof of the failure of the general property tax. It shows that after more than fifty years of experience, with all conceivable methods in the way of inquisitorial laws, severe

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penalties and criminal statutes, designed to force the owners of moneys and credits, stocks and bonds, to put their holdings upon the tax duplicate, not only is the percentage of such property returned less than ever before, but public sentiment seems to be more and more openly approving an evasion of the law. Such a condition of affairs is so manifestly wrong and so inimical to good government that its longer continuance is a grave injury to the state."

The Vermont Commission report in 1908 says: "It is safe to say that upon no other class of property in this state does the burden of taxation fall so heavily as upon the intangibles which are set in the list, and it is equally safe to say that the attempt to so tax this kind of property at such rates will always result in evasions, or will drive the property and its owner, or both, out of the state."

The Massachusetts Tax Commissioners' report says: "Members of the present commission have recently visited Columbus, and have had opportunities to talk with representative citizens in many walks of life and with the highest officials of the state. To all inquiries about the taxation of personal property in Ohio the uniform reply was: 'We are a state of liars and perjurers. Our law compels us to make a return of our personal property and to pay a tax ranging from 2 to 4 per cent upon the full cash value. No man can or will pay such an exorbitant tax, and the result is that practically every man defends himself from spoliation and confiscation by perjuring his soul. You cannot overstate the situation. No words can do justice to the iniquities of our present system.' "

Now that is where they had informers and penalties, and they drove their wealthiest citizens out of the state and produced no return.

The report of the New York tax Commission says: "So far as the personal property tax attempts to reach intangible forms of wealth, its administration is so comical

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as to have become a by-word. Its practice has come to be merely a requisition by the Board of Assessors upon leading citizens for such donations as the assessors think should be made, and is paid as assessed or reduced, according as the citizen agrees with the estimate of the assessor. Such a process of collecting revenue would be a serious menace to democratic institutions were it not so generally recognized as a howling farce."

I want to say in that connection just as illustrative, that New York does not have the unjust requirements and the burdensome requirements that we have, and it is a place where the owners of credits in large amounts, bonds and stocks, have gone from California and Ohio and to some extent from our own city and stayed.

In yesterday's papers I noticed this statement, which is merely illustrative of their way of assessing in that state: "Andrew Carnegie will pay no personal property tax to the city of New York this year. The iron-master's personal property was assessed at \$10,000,000, but he appeared to-day before the president of the tax department and made affidavit that this was erroneous. Mr. Carnegie swore that the value of his effects in the city did not exceed \$3,500,000, while his debts aggregated \$8,400,000. Accordingly, the assessment against him was canceled."

Taking a period of six years from 1901 to 1907 the assessments upon personal property as made out by the assessors of New York, only 16 per cent of it stood after the taxpayers got through with what they had to say about it, and of the taxes extended upon that 16 per cent only a little over 50 per cent was collected.

In the State of New York in 1867, 25 per cent of the whole taxes collected was levied on personal property; to-day it is less than 5 per cent. New York is growing much faster than Chicago. From 1880 to 1890 Chicago increased 600,000 in population. From 1890 to 1900, 600,000; from

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1900 to 1910, 500,000. From 1890 to 1900 Chicago increased 54 per cent. Greater New York increased 38 per cent. The next ten years, Chicago's increase fell from 54 per cent to 28 per cent, and New York's increased its percentage of growth; while Chicago increased 500,000, New York increased over a million three hundred thousand.

But my time is more than up. I wish only to say that they have tried a different system in different places with very satisfactory results. In the city of Baltimore in the State of Maryland in the year 1896, I think it was, or perhaps it was 1886, they had provisions like our own about taxing credits, and in that year the credits in Baltimore were assessed six million dollars. They changed so as to have the tax a uniform tax of a little less than one-half per cent, and it rose the next year from six million to fifty-five million dollars and increased steadily up to a hundred and fifty million dollars.

In the State of Pennsylvania where they have a law similar to the one in Baltimore, the assessment of credits is over a thousand millions. In the state of New York, bonds and mortgages, by paying a half of one per cent, are free from taxation, and they collect more revenue upon those securities at a half of one per cent paid once for all, than they did under the other system.

It is demoralizing to have a revenue law which is disregarded by the assessors and by the citizens. To leave it as it is eventually spells disaster.

PRESIDENT CARR: The Club is fortunate in having as a second speaker, a son of Illinois, a scholar, who has devoted much of his life to the highest interests of his State. Doctor James, when President of the Northwestern University, was our fellow-citizen. Many of us still insist on regarding him as such. In this and other States, he has

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had exceptional opportunity to study taxation, and will address us on the "Fundamental Condition of Achieving Reform" in taxation. It is my pleasure to present Doctor Edmund J. James, President of the University of Illinois.

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DR. EDMUND J. JAMES

PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Members and Guests of the Commercial Club: As Mr. Wilson has so well set forth, very few subjects have attracted more attention of a certain kind in the United States in the last generation, or one may say two generations, than taxation. Every state in the Union north of Mason and Dixon's line, as well as several south of that line, has appointed in the last few years a commission to study the fundamental principles of taxation, to study the defects in the existing system, and the possibilities of remedying them.

Most of the states, like Illinois, have appointed two commissions; some have appointed three and some have appointed permanent commissions whose function is not merely to administer the tax laws of the state but to study each year, as the industry and conditions of the state change, the question whether the existing tax system is adapted to the needs of their particular communities.

I wish I could say that, as a result of all this study by these various commissions in the states, men had come to some sort of an agreement about the fundamental principles underlying a reasonable system of taxation when translated into concrete form; but I am sorry to say I see very little such evidence. The principles that Mr. Wilson stated so tersely and so well are of course accepted by everybody, but when the question is raised as to some particular tax or some

particular grouping of taxes it is found that there is great difference of opinion; and we are still on many of these points very much where we were a generation ago.

I think as a rule legislatures have paid as little attention to the reports of commissions as the legislature of Illinois paid to the report of 1886, and has paid thus far to our own report. That attention has been usually confined to consigning these reports to the legislative waste-basket at the very first opportunity, where they have rested with little or no indication of influence upon actual legislative policy.

Now why is this? During this same time England and Germany, and to a smaller extent France, have reconstructed their systems of public revenue, and to a large extent upon very different principles from our own. Why? I think the first and most important reason is the fact that our taxation, after all, has been, in comparison with our national wealth, comparatively low. We grunt and groan a great deal about our taxes, but if we want to know what people in other countries pay in taxes in one form or another for the support of public enterprises, we need only to study the actual sums contributed in various forms by the citizens of Germany or France and even of England. Our burden of taxation in comparison with our national wealth is still comparatively low; and as long as that is true I rather despair of getting the attention of the public to the crying evils of our existing system.

I think another reason is to be found in the enormous rapidity with which men have accumulated fortunes in the United States during the last two generations. An individual man has found it well worth his while to see that his own taxes were not increased; an individual corporation has found it worth its while to secure the very best legal talent to protect its interests at all stages of the assessment and collection of taxes, but at no time have these

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corporations or the men who have accumulated the large wealth in this country or even the medium wealth, found it on the whole worth their while to give the attention to this question which it must have if we are ever to solve our tax and revenue problems in a satisfactory way.

Now I consider that our present conditions in the United States are in many respects very ominous, and I think that every thoughtful citizen ought to be concerned about what is before us. In the first place our public expense is rapidly mounting—mounting at a rate of speed which few people realize who do not actually study the situation. In the long run you cannot, of course, increase your system of public expense in nation and state and municipality without providing for some increase of revenue. For while you may conceal for a time the fact that you are increasing enormously your public burdens by the device of public debts, some time or other those debts must be paid; and anybody who looks over this country to-day and studies local finances, state finances and national finances must, I think, be surprised at the evidence of what may be called, from one point of view, gross extravagance, namely, the undertaking of enormous expenditure without any adequate consideration of the means whereby this expenditure is to be met.

My friend, President-Elect Wilson, has committed himself in some of his speeches during the last campaign to the rectification of the Mississippi River. Now what does the "rectification of the Mississippi River" mean if translated into concrete figures? Based upon the policies which associations of reputable business men in this country are urging, engineers have told me that it means an expenditure of a billion of dollars at least. A billion of dollars is after all quite an item, even for Uncle Sam to carry.

The federal government is urged to increase its functions and increase its expenditures in every possible direction.

Now there is no indication, except the amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the possibility of an income tax, that the resources of the federal government are to be increased at all corresponding to the expenditures which it is assuming or looking forward to.

Again, take the State of Illinois. Politicians, of course, of all parties who are out denounce the politicians who are in because of their extravagance and the enormous rate at which they have run up public expenditures; but when the new parties come in we find that the expenditures are still larger than before. No two successive Congresses of the United States have ever dared since 1860 to reduce the expenditures of the government, except in connection with the reduction growing out of the close of the Civil War, for a comparatively short time. It does not make any difference what party is in power, it does not make any difference what men are in power—the expenditure is continually mounting.

In the State of Illinois this association, the Commercial Club, has employed for some time a very distinguished gentleman, Mr. Cooley, one of the ablest men in the United States in his particular line, to make a report upon certain needed changes in our system of education; and this report has been made. It is one of the best contributions to the discussion of certain important educational questions made of late years. I understand the Commercial Club is committed to the policy suggested there. Now what does that mean in the last analysis, this thing which you have been urging and you are now urging upon the public? It means with all its implications and consequences an enormous increase in the expenditures for our public school system. I do not mean to say that that is not a good thing, for I believe it is. Indeed I think it would be the highest wisdom on the part of the State of Illinois to make that investment, but it means an enormous increase in public expenditures, and how are you going to provide for it; for there is no

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evidence that these particular schools primarily involved will directly furnish any added revenue to the State of Illinois with which to meet these obligations.

During the last two administrations of the State of Illinois there has been a steady movement to transfer from localities to the state the expenditures for certain classes of dependent and defective members of our population. For this purpose the state government has assumed a large additional expense. I think it has been fully justified, and every passing year will show that it was a wise step on the part of the people of Illinois; but does it mean economy? Does the transfer, for instance, of the hospital at Dunning to the state mean an economy to the people of the State of Illinois? Does the transfer of the insane poor from the county poorhouses to the state institutions mean an economy? Not at all. It means an enormous increase of public expenditure for these purposes. The tendency to increase the public expenditure as to these particular classes very largely grows out of our sensitiveness as to the sufferings of our fellow human beings. We are not satisfied to let the outrageous conditions exist which our predecessors of only a few years ago suffered to exist. Now that is all right and it is all necessary, but it means an enormous increase in the public burdens and we are not looking forward to provide any means by which an increase of public revenue corresponding to it shall be made.

Again, take such a question as the improvement of highways in our rural districts. The State of Illinois has done practically nothing in that field. Our greatest highway improvement of course has been in the railroads, and that is one of the most wonderful achievements in all the centuries. Any man who says the Romans were the greatest road builders of the world is mistaken; because we have been the greatest road builders of all time. But in the development of our railroad systems we have lost sight of the develop-

ment of rural roads, and neglected to provide for the development of rural roads which shall be the feeders of these railroad systems. We have done nothing for them; and at a time when the State of New York is preparing to spend one hundred million dollars in order to bring the rural roads in that state into condition, we have spent absolutely nothing, and our rural roads are certainly quite the equal in bad qualities of those that can be found in any other state in the Union or anywhere else in the world.

The pressure to spend money upon those things is urgent and growing more so all the time.

Now, where is the revenue to come from? The ancient Greeks had a law in one of their municipalities that any man who proposed to the community to change a law should come into the market place with a rope around his neck, and if he did not convince his neighbors it was a desirable thing to change the law the rope was tightened and that was the end of it. They had another law in another one of the Greek municipalities providing that any man who proposed a public expenditure and could not convince the community that he had a reasonable way to provide for it should be treated in exactly the same way. What would become of our modern statesmen in the United States and in the individual states if every man who proposed an additional expenditure had to provide some way to meet it? And yet at the bottom that is the fundamental necessity of any reasonable system of public finance. If we are going to make expenditures we must provide some way in which they shall be met.

Now, coincident with this has come along, of course with many other things, an increasing discontent in our communities. It is not easy to analyze the causes of this discontent, but such difficulties seem to spring up very much in proportion as prosperity increases. The French Revolution could never have been carried out by a poverty-stricken

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people. The French peasants were in the best condition of any peasants in Europe, and they were the kind of people needed to carry out a revolution. Discontent has a possibility to become effective only when prosperity has reached a certain high degree of development.

Now it is not too much to say that there is widespread discontent among the people of the United States to-day with what may be called tax conditions. And yet we are still pressing forward in spending money. If you were to take the city of Chicago and find out the number of schemes for spending money to be raised by some form of taxation which are germinating to-night in the heads of the citizens of Chicago you would be perfectly astounded; and some of them are going to be translated into actualities before the year is out, and additional expense is to come to the city without any adequate means of providing for it.

On the whole, we are doing little, certainly nothing adequate in the face of this very serious situation. We are increasing our expenses enormously, we are going to increase them still more; there is a constant increase of discontent, but we are doing nothing to meet the trouble.

A true reform, a reform which is going to reach the situation, must in the last analysis be national in its scope. The State of Illinois cannot adopt any system of revenue for itself without reference to the nation and other states which will be at all satisfactory. As Mr. Wilson has very well shown, the instant that the revenue system of Illinois bears at any point in an unequal way from that in which it bears in Wisconsin or bears in Michigan or bears in Ohio or bears in New York, a large part of the wealth of the community tends to fly away from the point where pressure is produced to that point where pressure is not so great.

This, then, fundamentally speaking and in the long run, is a question of national import and not merely of local or state import, and one of the evidences of the far-reaching

influence of this whole subject is to be found in the steady tendency to magnify our federal functions. One of the reasons of that tendency is the lack of adequate revenue on the part of our states and municipalities to look out properly for the functions which up to the present time we have considered to be theirs. Take, for example, the money we are spending to-day and preparing to spend on agriculture through the Bureau of Agriculture at Washington. In 1850, when this subject was first discussed, there was not one man in Congress who thought the federal government as such had anything more to do with agriculture than with other forms of industry, or that its special function was to look after the interests of agriculture. To-day we are spending seven millions, eight millions, and it will not be long before it will be ten and twenty millions, because the next administration has promised to spend more than the last administration did in promoting agriculture through the Bureau of Agriculture of our federal government. That has come about to a large extent from the steady pressure in the states themselves, because they find it so difficult under their inadequate system of public revenue to raise the money that is necessary to take care of the most fundamental categories of public expenditure belonging to them.

And so in a large way and in the long run this is a national and not merely a local question. Every other country in the world has come to treat it so. Germany, which is a federal empire as ours is a federal republic, has come face to face with this problem three distinct times on great questions of public policy and party divisions since the empire was established and handled it as a national problem, and until we get ready to look at it in that wide aspect and in that broad way we may expect to see nothing but palliatives in the present situation.

What can we do at the present time, what can this Commercial Club do at the present time, to remedy these

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fundamental conditions? Comparatively little; but it can do considerable to palliate them, and one of the most fundamental and necessary steps it can do very much to hasten. The first thing is to amend the Constitution of the State of Illinois. That will sound to our friends in the legislature as rather ridiculous. Amend the Constitution of Illinois! Impossible! We all know how difficult it is to amend the Constitution of Illinois. If we want any amendment we must get in the first place the consent of two-thirds of all the members elected to the legislature—two-thirds of each house; then we must put this amendment up at a general election and get a majority of all the votes cast at that election; and then we may submit only one amendment at a time and not oftener than once in four years. You can see how tightly the people who drew the Constitution of 1870 have tied up the legislature of Illinois. They, in their endeavor to prevent it from doing harm, have tied it up in certain ways so that it can really do very little good.

Now what is the amendment that our Tax Commission proposes? I want to read in the first place the provision of our present Constitution which Mr. Wilson has read. I want to read it again because the amending of this clause is, to my mind, the practical thing at the present time which the citizens of Chicago and the members of this club can help do. The present Constitution provides that:

“The General Assembly shall provide such revenue as may be needful by levying a tax by valuation so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property.”

We propose that that shall be amended by practically giving the legislature authority to levy taxes on the personality of the state according to any principles which may seem to the legislature good.

The Tax Commission report, which we laid before the legislature and which we submitted to the people of the

state, represents a compromise to a certain extent on the part of the members of the commission. What we have here said represents the things on which we could all agree, and to the extent to which we could agree; and even Mr. Riley, who made a separate report, agreed to everything which has been said in the report itself, but he desired to make some additions, and his additions are well worthy of attention and well worth reading. I sympathized with his view of the matter myself, and yet I felt that I was content for the present, considering that we ought not to put too many things before the people at once, to stand by the report as it exists. Our proposition is to amend this clause so that so far as personal property is concerned the legislature shall have comparatively a free hand in legislating upon that subject, and so our amendment will be Section 14, Article 9, of the Constitution:

“From and after the date when this section shall be in force the powers of the General Assembly over the subject-matter of the taxation of personal property shall be as wide and unrestricted as they would be if Sections 1, 3, 9 and 10 of this article, which are restrictions upon the powers of the legislature to pass laws taxing personal property, did not exist; provided, however, that any tax levied upon personal property must be uniform as to persons and property of the same class within the jurisdiction of the body imposing the same.”

Personally I believe the proper way to settle this is to wipe out all restrictions upon the legislature on the subject of taxation. I agree with Mr. Wilson entirely that the State of New York has on these fundamental things probably the best taxing system in the nation at the present time because the legislature is free to act, while the legislature of Illinois is among the most affected and the most restricted of all our legislatures. Our present legislature could not possibly give us a reasonable tax law in the

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State of Illinois to-day under the provisions of the Constitution as they exist.

I am speaking now for myself in what I wish to say next, and perhaps I should say that I am not in any sense presenting the views of the other members of this commission; but I object to this provision in the Constitution of the state in regard to the taxation by valuation as a reasonable proposition, on the ground that the amount of property is not a just measure of ability to pay taxes.

Take a very insignificant example, perhaps an unimportant example, and yet it will serve to show what I mean. A poor washerwoman, because she imagines that real estate is something that cannot get away from her and cannot escape her, invests all of her hard-earned savings of a lifetime for the benefit of her children in a plot of ground and a little cottage inside the city of Chicago. She is taxed under this system of property taxation at a rate which is almost confiscatory. She must spend many a hard hour over the washtub in order to pay her fair share, as determined by this Constitution, of the public revenues of this city and state. But the successful lawyer who does not choose to turn his fifty-thousand or one-hundred-thousand-dollar income into property, but wishes to use it up in riotous living or some other form, need not pay one dollar of taxes. I maintain that is an entirely unjust arrangement, and generally speaking the lawyers and doctors and merchants and business men who are making their large incomes and large revenues out of what might be called the personal element in themselves, are men who, under a system of property taxation, escape their fair share of public burdens, and it is the small people, the poor people who cannot get away and who have no place to invest their money except in this way, upon whom these burdens rest with crushing force.

That is a single example; I might cite many more, but

I do not know of a single authority from Adam Smith down to the present time who would consider the amount of property a man has as a fair measure of a man's ability to pay taxes; and no other civilized country in the world would think of giving to the general property tax any such position of influence and domination as we give to it in our taxing system.

I think a system of general property tax in a simple rural community where all kinds of property and wealth are easy to be seen, where one can see the lands and buildings and where everyone knows who is rich and who is poor, may be a fair system of taxation. If we had very little money to raise I think a general property tax might serve the purpose fairly well. In fact, if we had very little money to raise I think it would do to ask men to contribute to the support of the government voluntarily and get enough to run it in that way. But when we need large sums of money we must have some form of compulsory payment; and a general property tax as a system of caring for all the needs of government is one of the most inefficient systems any country ever adopted as the basis for its revenues.

Under this scheme certain forms of property escape taxation altogether, as Mr. Wilson has shown; and if the scheme were carried out properly and they did not escape, it would end in the destruction of certain elements in our body politic.

Another thing, no tax officer could be found anywhere in the world who would enforce this scheme of taxation. The intendants of Louis XIV and the publicans or tax-gatherers of Herod the Great would be ashamed of themselves if they had to do what our tax-gatherers would have to do if they enforced the laws on the statute books of Illinois to-day. And no community would support them in carrying out such a scheme. That is of course one reason why they do not carry it out. You could not elect a set of

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men in the city of Chicago that would undertake to carry out the tax laws of Chicago to-day, or if you did elect them and they attempted to do so they would resign their offices in a short time.

Now the proposition we have to put before you very briefly is, first, that we get rid of those restrictions in the Constitution of the State of Illinois which prevent the legislature from giving us a reasonable system of taxation; and with those out of the way we may then take up the discussion of what is a reasonable system, and how our present one should be altered in order to answer our needs.

PRESIDENT CARR: The last speaker knows much of the subject of the evening. He has applied to the study of taxation, the same high order of intelligence which has made him a recognized authority in Title and Trust circles. Mr. Riley will address us on the practical and all important phase of this subject: "Necessary Changes in Administration to Secure Permanent Reform." I am happy to be able to introduce Mr. Harrison B. Riley, President of the Chicago Title & Trust Company.

NECESSARY CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATION TO SECURE PERMANENT REFORM

BY MR. HARRISON B. RILEY

PRESIDENT CHICAGO TITLE AND TRUST COMPANY

Yielding to the formula of B. L. T., who edits that portion of the esteemed Tribune which I read these days with some satisfaction, I begin: Mr. President and other Gentlemen.

I went into the Tax Commission a very enthusiastic young man—not as young as I might be, but young in

experience. I came out duly chastened. At the same time the work on the commission will always remain with me as one of the pleasant experiences of my life. I learned much of the good that exists, even in tax systems. I also learned a great deal of the bad. Gentlemen came before us from day to day and retailed the most delicious, scandalous stories about our taxing officials at home and abroad. We came to no conclusion on that subject. We made no recommendation or finding as to whether they were as bad as they were said to be, because we were firmly of the opinion that if such officials were as good as they ought to be, they all ought to be abolished because they were ineffective and inefficient.

The situation is not their fault. The fault is the fault of the system, but when we went to the legislature and presented our report and invited assistance, one condition was made, and must be made again, and that is that no change or alteration in the administrative portion of the tax laws should be made or even considered until such time as you have a law which is just and right and entitled to be enforced.

On that condition, assuming that the recommendations made by the previous speakers are carried out, then it becomes necessary for us to consider a form of administration which will take an enforceable law and enforce it absolutely, without fear and without favor, because if the administrative department continues in the line on which it now exists, of helping friends and punishing enemies, no improvement which can possibly be devised in the law will be of the slightest use or assistance.

Our hope, with this condition complied with, lies in the short ballot. The past week has shown the necessity of the short ballot. We have seen the little inefficients climbing into power under the shadow of great men, and we have seen the bushwhackers seeking plunder while the

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battle lines clash; and we have come to the conclusion again that we must have the short ballot. Our proposition is this, that if you want to try the short ballot, if you want to see what an efficient administrative force can be built up just as soon as we can break away from the theory that the people are the only competent agency to choose competent officers, we have a place to try it and it is in the administrative system of taxation.

Look at the present organization. It is headed we may say by the State Board of Equalization, elective, twenty-five in number, one from each congressional district. Not chosen because of any exceptional skill or learning or knowledge of the laws or in the enforcement of taxation; but chosen because the places exist and the emoluments exist, and the places must be filled and the emoluments must be enjoyed.

Next in line is the Board of Review. In this county an excellent institution created under laws in the preparation of which Mr. Wilson was dominant. Administered with as much fairness as the situation will permit, and yet in the long run and with due appreciation of gentlemen who have heretofore filled the office in this county, being elective it is simply and purely luck if the board continues to be efficient. In the country districts the Board of Review is composed of county officers elected for other purposes, whose main interest and whose main skill if they have skill is in other channels of government; who sit simply and solely to reduce taxation where it will do them the most good, and to increase it where it will do their enemies the most harm.

Thereafter, the assessor, county, city, village, township; elected by the very people whom he is bound to assess, his office dependent on their good will; under a law which if he enforced a minor fraction of it would terminate his public career at the end of his first term, if he was permitted to remain within the district that long. This system of ad-

ministration, with elective assessors in each little particular taxing district, without anyone to supervise, counsel advice, without instruction or protection from above, is a system under which any assessor good or bad must fail to do his duty.

The State Board of Equalization meets every fall. It has a comparatively short time to do its work, a few weeks, perhaps eight. Its members come from different portions of the state and must return home over the Sabbath to attend church. Consequently their sessions are three and possibly four days a week. It is their business to assess the railroads; it is their business to see that no county absolutely makes no assessment; it is absolutely their duty to see that no county "hunches" on the adjoining county and puts in a lower rate of assessment than a fair division of the state tax would require. It assesses the capital stock of corporations; most of them are shown by our investigation for some reason or other to be residents of Cook county. It may be that the corporations in the body of the state are of such minor importance that their capital stock has no value over and above the value of their visible assets. It is rash perhaps for an official of a corporation to speak lightly of taxing bodies because they have such an efficient and effective way of getting back. That being so I proceed again to the situation of the country assessor within whose jurisdiction the interests which I represent do not fall.

He is elective; he is chosen by reason of his political excellencies, perhaps by reason of his good fellowship. The very men that choose him are the men that he assesses. As I remarked before, he has to have one eye at least on the duration of his term of office; most men, high or low, desire to be re-elected and consequently the local assessor in these far distant districts simply invites the people to assess themselves. And, this proposition might be effective if the people who assess themselves were not suspicious that their

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neighbor was not going to the same extraordinary limit which he himself is willing to reach, and consequently in order to be safe, he becomes conservative as to the value of his property. The result is that year after year and year after year property disappears; wealth increases, luxury increases, automobiles increase, all of the evidences of luxury increase, but property and the value thereof constantly shrinks.

The remedy for this is very simple. I am not one of those who believe that tax laws cannot be enforced. I believe that even our present laws can be enforced. I am not going to tell my notion of how it could be done because I don't want them enforced. But, given a good law, a law in which I ought to be willing to pay my share, and a law which I would be very willing should be strong enough to compel you to pay your share, then the system unfolds itself excellently.

Let the governor appoint a tax commission, non-partisan, of three people. The appointive power gives an opportunity for the selection of men of ability. In electing governors of states ordinarily the eye of the people is centered on the excellencies of the man. We have no higher state official and if the people can be trusted at all to govern themselves, to select their governors and their officials, their capacity must be demonstrated to its highest extent in the selection of the governor. If we cannot trust our governors, who else can we trust? Of course it occasionally happens that perfectly good governors fail of election — and I remember a case myself where a perfectly good governor failed of re-election because of his belief or non-belief in certain collateral things, but that is just simply one of those incidents which show that the method of selection of our officers has not reached the highest stage of development. This tax commission I do not propose to have selected by civil service methods. I expect that the commissioners would be selected by the governor in the

usual course of business, and the great, strong point in favor of it is that their tenure of office would be not fixed except so long as the governor seemed to think they behaved, which perhaps would be as long as a majority of the commission happened to belong to his particular party.

But below them, next succeeding, district assessors or district commissioners as you please, each presiding over a taxing district, each selected by a genuine civil service examination, not one where mental deficiencies are made up with credits for physical excellencies as I have heard is sometimes done in local civil service circles; subject to the domination of the tax commission, its instruction, its enlightenment and its punitive power when their work shall be faulty, when they have been found guilty of fraud, of corruption or wilful undervaluation of property.

Under these district assessors the necessary surveyors, clerks, auditors, accountants and minor clerks of every character, each selected by civil service methods with due emphasis again to mental qualifications; each subject to removal only for such causes as I have mentioned in respect to the district assessors or commissioners.

Then let anything go wrong and you can point your finger right to where the trouble can be cured. Let the commissioners make assessment an adjunct to their private business, and an appeal to the governor lies right away, right off; it does not have to await the expiration of a term of years. Let assessments be unfair, let them be unjust, let people be favored, let people be punished, and the right of appeal and a most effective appeal lies right to the governor, and the governor stands hostage for the good behavior of the entire taxing administrative force because the governor has even in his dreams the shadow of the opposition hovering over him ready to be captious with his good deeds, and certainly joyous to point out his bad deeds.

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What objection can be raised to this? I can see very readily that any plan of procedure which tends to eliminate the State Board of Equalization with a membership of twenty-five and substitute in its place a Tax Commission of three, is mathematically going to have twenty-two negative votes right off. I can readily understand that the aforesaid good fellow who is suspicious of his ability to pass a rigid civil service examination is going to have some objection. These I do not care to answer.

The last objection, and the one most strongly urged and the one which, unless you investigate it carefully, seems very serious, is the building up in the hands of the governor of a large machine reaching to every taxing district in the state with its horde of clerks and underlings, ready to do the governor's bidding. That situation, when we consider some of the governors we have had, might perhaps be appalling; but when we stop to consider for a few moments we see that the fire and police departments of the city and the revenue and post office service of the general government are built up in just that way, appointive officers. There used to be a time I am told when the postal service of the general government and the police service of the city were unduly active. At the present time such influence as they have grows less and less, and visibly less, because of the civil service situation. It is not in this country I am glad to say a fair charge to bring against a civil service appointee that he fails to do the political bidding of his superior. It is hard sledding as some gentlemen here can tell, to collect assessments these days from civil service employes. The unity of the machine created by appointment of the governor is broken, it is curbed, it is practically non-existent, where there is real, genuine civil service. I do not believe that the machine would ever have an existence; but I come once again to the final check on the use of a machine of that character for

illegitimate purposes and that is the power of the people concentrated on the governor who stands always in the lime-light and who stands in fear of just criticism from his adversaries. The governor elect of this state stands pledged to the dissolution of the State Board of Equalization. The people of the state have rushed enthusiastically to the little ballot to invite the prayerful attention of the legislature to the situation.

It seems to me that the time is ripe for a change. It seems to me, gentlemen of the legislature, that the subject is one which deserves your attention. I know the difficulties which you labor under in considering this question when others of more political importance are urged on your attention. I regretted and had just cause for regret also that the Tax Reform amendment to the constitution ran afoul of the initiative and referendum. Remembering that one article only of the constitution may be amended at a session, the fight for precedence between the initiative and referendum and tax reform became so acute, not to say bitter, that when we succeeded in shelving the initiative and referendum they very unjustly turned around and succeeded in shelving us. It was unfortunate. We thought we had the right of way. We felt our cause was just, and when their cause had been lost we thought that that was a good time to let bygones be bygones.

You will have that same situation again this next session of the legislature. We will come to you backed by the mandate of the people, on the little ballot. We will claim that the State of Illinois has paid out a large sum of money in investigating the cure for taxing evils that the commission has worked faithfully, and that this reform should not be sidetracked again. It was up in 1886; pushed aside. Up in 1911; pushed aside. Coming again in 1913, and I really think it is a good piece of friendly advice, if I may offer you advice, to suggest that you let us get through and get

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out of the way before you take up any of these other matters, because we are getting impatient.

To the members of the Commercial Club, let me suggest if I may suggest, that we go a little further than we ordinarily do in club work. Let us go down to Springfield. It is very interesting. You may be large men in your own community; you will find out how small you are away from home. It is not pleasant work unless you get really interested in the game, to sit around dangling your heels until the gentlemen are ready to give you a hearing before the committee. It is not pleasant, after you have got out of the committee, to hang around the outskirts of either house, begging and pleading with somebody with whom you have a speaking acquaintance, for the love of Mike to get up your bill, but that is the way laws are passed. The gentlemen of the legislature cannot know what the people of the state really want unless the people of the state show enough interest in their measures to get down there and row around with them to show that they really mean it. So I beg of you not to let the matter drop and not to adopt the usual club attitude which is so tersely described by a nameless minor poet in the way of a benediction:

*The banquet is over, the speeches are done;
And the humble commuter to his train now must run.
The pains and the pangs of dyspepsia we've braved,
At each perfervid period our glasses we've waved;
So we thank thee, oh Lord, that our country is saved.
Amen.*

PRESIDENT CARR: I am quite sure that the guests and members of The Commercial Club will join with me in expressing our very deep appreciation to the three speakers for coming with us this evening and delivering such interesting addresses. The meeting now stands adjourned.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH REGULAR MEETING

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1912

Open Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

WHAT IS PROGRESS IN POLITICS?

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler

President Columbia University

PRESIDENT CARR. Guests and Members of the Club: Progress in Politics for months past has been all absorbing to the American people. The leading political parties have vied with each other in laying claim to the best records of achievement and programs of promise. We are inclined at times to believe the statement of a French authority, that old Mr. Status Quo is deceased.

Prior to the excitement of the presidential campaign, the Executive Committee of the Club decided to ask a scholar of distinguished attainments to discuss before the December meeting the subject of this evening. We were assured this would be an opportune time for reflection, after the enthusiasm of the summer campaign had subsided, and, in the language of one of our martyred presidents, we could find the calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured.

This evening, we may turn with a sigh of relief to the prospect of hearing a message not colored by political necessity. Our guest of honor will feel he has served us well if he may induce us to think most seriously regarding what is really at stake in our politics. In the private offices of our

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thoughts, all of us reach the conclusion that each of the leading parties has to its credit much of progress that is true and lasting. In one form or another, all may claim to a record of accomplishment.

The vast majority of our people have at heart the true spirit of a free Democracy, and might easily unite if there could but be eliminated judgments twisted by old associations and passions engendered by hatred of opponents. I notice that Mr. Roosevelt has been quoted as saying that his party might accept the enrollment of all but one or two hundred of the Republicans. I do not know how many the Republicans would exclude, and I cannot speak officially, but believe the Democracy would welcome the enrollment of Republicans and Progressives with comparatively few exceptions.

True Reactionaries are not as numerous as many are inclined to believe. Their forces are recruited from the Extremists of all parties, and in this country there never will be found a party devoted to Reaction.

No, gentlemen, our need is not for increased prejudice and overstatement, not for crafty but clear thinking. The patriotic duty of our people is to think and to speak honestly.

We are looking more and more to the universities for scholarly investigation of the problems of government, and what a debt we owe to the guiding geniuses of these institutions, and this evening we have as our guest of honor, one whose patriotism is as great as his leadership in university life.

Over the entrance to the Columbia Library there is this inscription:

“Kings College, founded in the province of New York, by Royal Charter in reign of George II; perpetuated as Columbia College by the people of the state of New York when they became free and independent; maintained and cherished from generation to generation for the advance-

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ment of the public good and the glory of the Almighty God.”

The speaker of the evening has been faithful to the sentiments of this inscription. The traditions of free and independent people have been cherished by him, and it is with very great pleasure that I am permitted to introduce to you this evening Doctor Nicholas Murray Butler, President Columbia University.

WHAT IS PROGRESS IN POLITICS?

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

President Carr, Guests and Members of the Commercial Club: For some time past it has not been easy to discuss politics from the standpoint of principle in the United States. For nearly twenty years two powerful and interesting personalities have largely dominated the imagination of large elements of the American people. Since the generation passed from the stage to whose lot it fell to settle for good or for ill the issues growing out of the Civil War, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt have been the center-points of American political discussion. These two attractive men have much in common, as well as many points of difference. The important fact is that when either of them is before the electorate as a candidate for high office, it is almost impossible to secure discussion of any political proposal save with reference to his personality. The effect of this limitation upon our political life has not been happy. Passionate feeling has been aroused at a time when cool reason was most necessary, and blind personal advocacy or blind personal antagonism has taken the place of statesmanlike examination of principles and of policies. At the moment we are at rest in a political eddy. The glamor of candidacies and the rapidly succeeding turmoil of primaries, conventions and elections is over for the time being. There is given opportunity, therefore, to discuss some fundamental

questions of politics apart from their relation to any party, to any candidate, or to any personality.

It is high time that the American people undertook this task without either passion or partisanship, and with sincerity. Conditions are not favorable to national safety and stability if we pursue a policy of drifting, or if we permit specific proposals, in themselves attractive, to lead us away from sound principle. The American people are by nature, by temperament and by opportunity a people of constant and continuing progress. They have never stood still or gone backward in the past, and it is highly unlikely that they will so far change their nature as to stand still or to go backward in the near future.

We are constantly called upon to make progress, to move forward, and to adopt policies and to support measures in the name of advance. Before taking an attitude toward such invitations and proposals, it is advisable to assure ourselves that we know the points of the political compass, and that we are certain of the direction in which we are moving. For whether a man is progressing or not depends entirely upon the direction in which he is facing when he begins to move, and not at all upon the label that he bears. An avalanche roaring down the side of a mountain in obedience to the law of gravitation is not moving upward simply because it carries with it a sign-post marked "Elxcesior."

I should describe progress in politics as moving forward to the consideration and solution of new problems with intelligence and sympathy, and in the full light of experience gained and principles established in the past. Change, on the other hand, which many persons mistake for progress, is the mere restless and ill-considered disturbance of conditions with little or no regard to the teachings of experience. Progress in politics will aim to make government just, efficient and quickly responsive to the public will, and to ensure, so far as may be, equality of opportunity together

with security in the possessions of the fruits of one's own brain and hands.

For some time past political progress has been urged upon us and illustrated—indeed, it has almost been defined—in terms of attack upon two very fundamental and far-reaching political principles that are said to be outworn and harmful. If those who so illustrate and exemplify progress are correct, then it is clear that nothing short of a revolution is soon to be effected in our American life, and through it in the world at large. If, on the other hand, they are wrong, as I am profoundly convinced is the case, then progress will lie not in the direction toward which they point, but rather in orderly, reasoned, and permanent advance along the familiar lines of political evolution without disturbing the principles that they attack, without tearing up anything by the roots, without overturning any long-established and beneficent institution, and without sapping the well-springs of intellectual and moral independence and responsibility by leading the individual to look to the community, rather than to his own efforts, for support.

The two fundamental and far-reaching principles to which I refer are, first, the limitations of a written constitution, and, second, the relation that has hitherto existed in America between the individual and the state. We have lately been told in no uncertain terms that political progress consists in throwing off the shackles of a written constitution and in wholly altering the relation that has hitherto existed between the individual and the state. These appeals are not unfamiliar in other parts of the world, but to large numbers of thoughtful Americans they have a strange and somber sound. They are nothing short of a challenge to the justice and wisdom of the basis on which our entire civilization rests, whether those who make them realize this or not. We must look carefully into these two contentions, and if

we can, must meet and refute them with rational argument and with historical illustration. If we cannot do this, then we must, as thinking men, accept these new policies, however revolutionary they may seem to us to be.

What is a written constitution? What are its limitations and its shackles? A written constitution is nothing more than a court of appeal to man's sober and historically justified reason from his quick acting and present impulses and passions. A written constitution simply marks out and defines what has already been accomplished in the progress toward free government, and drives a stake, as it were, in order that we may return to it for guidance when we need to take a new measurement.

Nevertheless, for some time past impatience of a written constitution has been marked in this country in many places and in many ways. We have been told that our written constitution attempted to bind us fast to an eighteenth century view of society, and that it could not possibly adapt itself or be adapted to present-day needs and problems. It is one manifestation of this impatience when judges, who have taken a solemn oath to obey and to enforce the constitution and its limitations, are told from the platform and in the press that they should read into it some new and strange interpretation which a portion of the population honestly believes is necessary to the satisfaction of their ethical ideals or their social impulses. The same tendency is manifested when it is proposed to recall judges from their high positions, not because of any personal offence justifying impeachment, but because of their failure in official act to harmonize with some strongly held present-day opinion. Precisely the same temper is shown when it is proposed that the people at large shall by a plenary and direct exercise of the police power overturn a judicial decision which puts a constitutional barrier to some much-desired policy or act.

There would be justification for even the most extreme

of these proposals if our written constitution were unamendable; if it were really a strait-jacket into which our national life was long ago forced, and which could only be worn in these later days with harm and constant pain. But the contrary is the case. The constitution is readily amendable whenever a large body of opinion, widely distributed throughout the country, genuinely desires its amendment. We are witnessing at the moment two illustrations of this fact. The amendment authorizing the levying of a federal income tax is well on its way to adoption, and will almost certainly become the Sixteenth Amendment to the constitution within a few weeks. The proposal for the direct election of United States Senators has been adopted by the constitutional majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and that it will have no difficulty in securing ratification by the Legislatures of the States is perfectly plain to every political observer. Here are two very important amendments to our fundamental law, at least one of which may prove to be very far-reaching in its effects and to involve consequences not now foreseen; and yet, when public opinion has really and unmistakably asserted itself in their support, they go forward with but slight interruption or delay to take their place in the constitution of the United States.

The whole history of the constitution illustrates this. By far the greater part of the hundreds of amendments that have been proposed from time to time, some of which have received a considerable measure of support, have failed to secure incorporation in the fundamental law because the great mass of the American people were not interested in them or did not believe them to be important. On the other hand, the first ten amendments were speedily adopted in order to set at rest certain doubts and difficulties that had arisen in the public mind at the time of the ratification of the constitution itself. The Eleventh Amendment was

adopted—not, I think, wisely—to give effect to an interpretation of the constitution other than that which had been held by the United States Supreme Court in the well-known case of *Chisholm v. Georgia*. This amendment is sometimes pointed to as an illustration of what is meant by the recall of a judicial decision. This use of it, however, rests upon an entire misconception of the facts. So far from being the recall of a judicial decision, it was a formal amendment to the constitution in order to meet a general situation which a judicial decision had created. This is something which constitutional government always contemplates, and there is nothing extraordinary or abnormal about it. It is, on the other hand, an orderly, reasoned and proper way in which to exercise the sovereign power of the people. Despite the feeling that this particular decision created, in view of its running counter to the extreme State Rights doctrine of the time, it took nearly four years to secure the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment. The Twelfth Amendment, relating to the mode of electing the President and Vice-President, was adopted practically by unanimous consent, to remove an obvious difficulty in the working of the original provisions of the constitution on this point. The history of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments is well known, as is the history of those that seem destined to become the Sixteenth and Seventeenth. The sovereign people of the United States are, then, demonstrably in full possession of their government, and they have not deprived themselves of the power to alter or amend its fundamental law when they believe such alteration or amendment to be necessary or desirable.

There are two questions that must be carefully distinguished. The one relates to the desirability of amending the constitution in any specified manner at a given time, and the other relates to the breaking down or overriding of constitutional limitations, whether by executive usurpa-

tion or by legislative act, because some considerable body of opinion is ready to applaud the result. In the former case the issue is this: Will the sovereign people consciously and willingly, after consideration and debate, alter their fundamental law? In the latter case the question is this: Will the people permit their government to be changed and its underlying principles modified by what is in effect and often in form as well a revolutionary act?

There are those who believe and teach that the path of progress lies in the direction of breaking down and overriding constitutional limitations. It is essential to progress that all such proposals be met with a determined opposition. These constitutional limitations on governmental power are in the interest of individual liberty. They themselves mark the history of progress in government. They represent what our ancestors for scores of generations have won, first from the formlessness of anarchy, and later from the tyranny of an individual or a class. The reason why this matter is so important for us is that only in the United States has individual liberty been made really a part of constitutional law. Everywhere else it has only a statutory basis. Germany alone of modern peoples has made progress toward the position of the United States in this fundamental matter; but in Germany the judiciary is dependent upon the political departments of the government, and, therefore, it lacks authority to protect the individual from encroachments by them. In France and in Great Britain individual liberty depends wholly upon the passing mood of a majority in the Legislative Assembly or in the House of Commons.

What is at stake in preserving a written constitution and its limitations upon government is nothing less than the sovereignty of the people themselves. In the United States the people are sovereign. The constitution as from time to time amended sets up the people's form of government and defines the functions and limitations of its various

officers and agencies. The government has no authority but that which the sovereign people choose to entrust to it, and an independent judiciary is established by the people in order to make sure that the executive and the legislative departments of the government do not overstep their respective limitations. If these limitations on government be removed or nullified, or if the independent judiciary be deprived of its independence, the effect will be to transfer sovereignty from the people of the United States to the governmental organs and agencies for the time being. Without constitutional limitations, the Congress of the United States would be as sovereign as is the House of Commons, and all those precious privileges and immunities that are set out in the constitution and its amendments, and as to which the individual citizen may appeal to the judiciary for protection, would be placed upon the same plane as a statute authorizing the appointment of an interstate commerce commission or one denouncing a monopoly or other act in restraint of trade. It must not be forgotten that there is no such thing as an unconstitutional law in Great Britain. The fact that the Parliament enacts a law makes it constitutional, no matter what its effect upon life, liberty or property may be; for Parliament is sovereign. To propose to import this condition into the United States is not progress, but reaction.

It may be asked, what difference does it make in everyday life whether the sovereignty remains with the people of the United States, and whether the Congress and the several Legislatures are held to the performance of their tasks under those limitations and restrictions which the people have in their constitution laid upon them, or whether those restrictions and limitations are removed and the sovereignty as you say passes to the legislative body itself? The answer is this: Any majority, however small, however fleeting, however unreasonable, or however incoherent, would then

have at its immediate disposal the life, liberty and property of each individual citizen of the United States. This may be a good form of government, but it is certainly not the American form. It is not that republican form of government which the people of the United States have guaranteed to the several States. It is a return to tyranny, with a many-headed majority in the place of power once held by the single despot. This again is not progress, but reaction. It is a proposal to undo what history has so effectively done; to give back to the mass what has been so painfully conquered for the individual; to alter absolutely and for the worse our standards of judgment and of accomplishment in public affairs. The harassing of individuals and of minorities is sometimes unavoidable in the processes of government, but it is neither wise nor necessary to exalt it to the position of a controlling principle.

By a curious perversion of clear thinking, this issue is sometimes stated to be one between those who believe that the people are wise enough and strong enough to carry on a government of comprehensive powers, and those who believe that they are not. It is described as an issue between those who trust the people and those who distrust the people. Nothing could be farther from the fact. Those who trust the people are the ones who believe in individual liberty, who have confidence that a man can work out his own fortune and build his own character better than any one else can work it out or build it for him. Those who distrust the people are the ones who wish to regulate their every act, to limit their gains and their accomplishments, and to force by the strong arm of government an artificial and superficial equality as a substitute for that equal opportunity which is liberty. There could be no greater evidence of hopelessly confused thinking than to suppose that a government of limited powers is so limited because the people distrust themselves. The fact is precisely the opposite. To trust the

people is to leave them in fullest possible possession of their liberty and to call upon them to use that liberty and its fruits for the public good.

The second fundamental and far-reaching principle that is under attack in the mistaken name of progress is that which governs the relation of the individual to the community or state. This principle is closely bound up with a written constitution and its limitations on the power of government, and the two really stand or fall together.

There are three broadly distinguished ways in which the relation of the individual to the community may be viewed. We may, in the first place, look upon the individual as everything and the community as nothing. In that case each individual becomes an end unto himself, and what we call civilization is reduced to a predatory war in which the enemies of each individual are the remainder of mankind. More than once in the history of human thinking doctrines have expounded this view and have exalted it as desirable. They have not, fortunately, been able to secure enough support to put their doctrine into practice over a wide area or for any considerable time.

We may, in the second place, look upon the individual as nothing and the community as everything. In one form or another this is the doctrine which underlies the civilization of the Orient. In the East, either by ancestor worship, by caste feeling, or by religious doctrine, whole masses of population have been held in subjection for centuries; for the controlling principle of life forbade an individual to assert his independence of the thought of the community of which he was a part.

If anarchy be the result of the first of these views, stagnation is the result of the second. The Western peoples from the time of the Greeks have endeavored to avoid both anarchy and stagnation by adopting and acting upon a

third point of view. This point of view, in contradistinction to individualism on the one hand and to communism on the other, I call institutionalism, for the reason that it looks upon the individual as finding his highest purpose not in antagonizing his interests to those of his fellows, but in using his freedom and his power of initiative to help them build and maintain the institutions that are civilization. This is a view that lays great stress upon individuality, upon personal liberty and upon personal character, but that sees liberty and character perfected and manifested in the free and willing service of the community, and in those civil institutions which exemplify this service and aid it. This view differs sharply from that first described in that, while it emphasizes the individual, it yet regards him as a member of a group, a community, a society, in which he has duties and owes service as well as possesses rights and privileges. It differs from the second view in that it calls upon the individual to serve his fellow-men willingly and out of conscience and good judgment, instead of reducing him by an external force to a uniform level of action and of belief.

There is no progress in politics in breaking down this third view of the relation between the individual and the community in favor of either the first or the second. The road that leads to that individualism which is anarchy is not one of progress. The road that leads to that communism which is stagnation is not one of progress. We have been walking in the path of progress for 2,500 years, and the characteristic of that path is that it leads every individual to exert himself to the utmost, not alone that he may profit, but that he may be the better able to serve. The American people will not be wise if they fail to test every proposal made in the name of progress by this standard. Does it tend to exalt the individual at the expense of the community in a way that makes for privilege, monopoly, anarchy? If so, reject it. Does it tend to exalt the community at

the expense of the individual in the way that makes for artificial equality, denial of initiative, stagnation? If so, reject it. Does it tend to call out the individual constantly to improve himself for wider and more effective service and good citizenship? If so, adopt it. It makes for progress.

If this analysis of underlying principles is correct — and I submit it with confidence to the judgment of thoughtful and unprejudiced Americans of whatever party — then we must hold fast in any program of advance to a written constitution, with definite and precise limitations on government in the interest of liberty, which constitution is not to be overridden and ignored, but which may be amended in orderly fashion when public opinion demands; and also to a political policy which both in general and in detail will offer new and increasing opportunities to the individual, not primarily for his own aggrandizement, but for the public and general good.

Before passing from these questions of fundamental principle to some matters of detail, let me say a word as to the influence of the two-party system in effecting political progress. The parliamentary history of Great Britain and of the United States demonstrates that free government will progress most rapidly and most equitably if it is conducted under a system in which two political parties, differing sharply on some fundamental principle of government, stand over against each other as opponents and as critics. The constructive power of the nation will at times be represented more strongly in the one party, and at times more strongly in the other. But their honest, sincere and straightforward criticism of each other's principles and policies, and their division of the community into two parties, each of which includes representatives of every class and type of citizenship, has in it far more of hope, far more promise of advance, and far more of democracy than has a series of temporary

legislative majorities made up by a combination of rival groups, each representing a class interest and struggling not for principle, but for advantage. There is no progress to be had by the multiplication of parties or by introducing here the system of political groups, which has made so difficult the advance of parliamentary institutions on the continent of Europe, and which has at times so paralyzed the arm of effective government. The Labor Party in Great Britain has greatly complicated the problems of government without materially advancing the cause of its own members, for the reason that it represents not a principle, but an interest in politics. The triumph of a combination of interests is more to be feared and deplored than the victory of an unsound principle. The latter can often be undone; the former rarely, and only after long tribulation. We should strive to strengthen, rather than to weaken, the party system which divides society by a perpendicular line running through all classes alike, and we should resist the substitution for it of a number of special groups and class interests that divide society horizontally.

What, now, are some of the real problems that are pressing for solution and whose satisfactory handling, without departing from sound principle, would constitute genuine progress in our politics? They are very many, and it is impossible to do more than mention the most important of them.

I. It is plain that a large number of persons are dissatisfied with what may be called the stiffness of the framework of our government. They have been induced to believe that representative institutions are not adequate to a just expression of the popular will, and that it is desirable to modify them or to overturn them entirely by going back to the once abandoned methods of direct democracy. It is not difficult to prove that the substitution of direct democracy for representative institutions is and must

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necessarily be a long step backward. On the other hand, it will be a step in advance to seek out and to remove the causes of dissatisfaction with representative government and the distrust of it that now exist. There are two ways of accomplishing this: One is to make the framework of government somewhat more flexible than now, and the other to simplify and to improve the methods by which public officers are chosen as well as those by which governmental policies are declared and executed.

To provide a less difficult mode of amending the constitution than that now in force would be to make progress. A quarter century ago it was pointed out¹ that artificially excessive majorities are required to bring about constitutional change. At that time fewer than 3,000,000 people could successfully resist more than 45,000,000 in the attempt to secure an amendment to the constitution. A safeguard of this kind is extreme, and of itself invites to revolution and violence. So far as the State constitutions are concerned, the process of amendment is already quite easy enough, and if the bad habit could be checked of putting into the organic law what are really legislative details, the wish to amend the State constitutions would be far less frequent than at present. With the constitution of the United States, however, the case is different. The modification of the amending article has been discussed at various times since it was first proposed by Senator Henderson of Missouri in connection with the projected Thirteenth Amendment in 1864. Professor Burgess of Columbia University made an important suggestion on this subject² more than twenty years ago, and more recently his suggestion has been modified and presented³ in a way that deserves careful consideration as a part of any program of political advance.

¹ Burgess: *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, I: 151.

² Burgess: *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, I: 152-3.

³ Munroe Smith: *Shall We Make Our Constitution Flexible?* in *North American Review*, November, 1911, pp. 657-673.

The suggestion is that, in future, amendments to the constitution shall be submitted to the States for ratification when passed by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress in two successive Congresses. When so submitted, they shall be voted upon either by the legislatures of the several States or by conventions in each State or directly by the voters in each of the States, as one or another of these methods of ratification may be proposed by Congress. When so voted upon, they shall be ratified whenever accepted by a majority of the States — whether acting through their legislatures or by conventions or by direct vote of the people, as may have been provided — on condition that the ratifying States also contain a majority of the population of all the States according to the last preceding enumeration. The advantages of this plan for amending the constitution over that at present in force would be that a minority of one-third in either House of Congress could not withhold indefinitely, as now, the submission of a new constitutional proposal to the States, and that population would be given a due and proper weight in deciding whether or not a particular proposal should be ratified. On the other hand, deliberation and caution would be secured by the provision that a proposal to amend the constitution must command a majority of both Houses in each of two successive Congresses. This suggestion, which is the result of much careful study, will, I think, commend itself the more closely it is examined as a genuine step in advance through making the framework of the government more flexible and more responsive to popular opinion, without breaking down any existing safeguard and without violating any fundamental principle.

II. The people as a whole are not satisfied with the present methods of nominating and electing public officers. The widespread movement to dispense with conventions and other intermediate bodies and to nominate all candidates

for office by the direct primary is evidence of popular discontent with the methods that have heretofore existed. It is my belief, however, that the rapid development of legislation controlling political party organization and procedure is not a step forward, but rather backward — or perhaps sideways; and that real progress lies in a different direction. I cannot agree with those who are urging the State in the name of progress to extend statutory control over party organizations and methods. It would, I believe, be wiser for the State to withdraw entirely from all legislation affecting political parties and their methods other than that which also affects churches, masonic lodges, chambers of commerce, and other voluntary bodies. The attention of the State government should be fixed on the election, and on the election alone. Of course, in that case there should be no discrimination in favor of political parties in making up the official ballot. Access to the ballot should be open on the same terms to any responsible body of citizens sufficiently numerous to command attention and willing to give some evidence of good faith. A political party, like a masonic lodge or a branch of the Christian church or a chamber of commerce, should be left to its own devices and allowed to regulate itself and to manage its own internal affairs as it wills. If the contrary view, which is at present so popular, be taken, then it may be safely predicted that before many years we shall find ourselves confronting problems arising out of this legal relation between the State and the political parties that will rival in complexity and difficulty those that have already arisen in European countries between the state and the legally recognized churches.

This is a large and difficult subject, full of points of contention. I must be satisfied for the moment with merely indicating that the course of action which has hitherto been hailed as a mark of progress, seems to me to be quite the reverse.

If the spirit animating a political party is one of justice and wisdom, it will permit its members to give expression to their wishes and preferences in any way that a majority of them desire. The method of the direct primary is probably advantageous within relatively small and homogeneous communities, where men know each other and where candidates for office can be discussed with some degree of understanding and personal acquaintance. That it will be highly disadvantageous to substitute the direct primary for the method of the convention and conference when large areas are involved, such as a great State or the nation as a whole, I am entirely certain. It will, among other things, exalt the professional politician and the man who can provide or secure the great sums of money needed to carry on a campaign for several weeks or months before a large and widely distributed body of electors. True progress will consist in freeing the convention system from abuses, not in abolishing it.

III. Again, the government will be more quickly responsive to the will of the people if the necessary steps be taken to improve our legislative methods and procedure. As has recently been pointed out with great force by ex-Speaker Wadsworth of New York, many, if not most, of our laws are loosely drawn and carelessly considered, and in a great number of cases they fail absolutely to accomplish the object desired by those who urge them. These facts of themselves lead to much unnecessary and vexatious litigation, and tend to give ground for the belief that in some way or other the processes of government are used, not to carry out, but to defeat, the popular will.

We might with advantage imitate the procedure of the House of Commons in this respect, as it is far superior to our own. The fault in this country does not lie in our system of government, nor does it lie with members of the legislatures as individuals. It is to be found rather in the

fact that we have utterly neglected to perfect our methods of legislation. We give little or no attention to the art of bill drafting, and hardly any checks have been provided against the indiscriminate introduction of bills in legislative bodies. When bills are introduced without previous careful revision, and are submitted by the thousand in a single session, it is plain that it is out of the question to secure satisfactory results for the public.

We need, both in connection with the Congress of the United States and in connection with the several State legislatures, commissions of experts to draft bills in accordance with the wishes of those who have a particular proposal to bring forward. It ought not to be possible for an individual member of a legislature to present bills at random and haphazard at the request of this constituent or that, badly phrased, crudely and verbosely drawn, and utterly unsuited in form and in content to find a place upon the statute book.

IV. We have now had a long experience with the sharp separation of the executive and the legislative powers, and that this separation has some disadvantages is certain. Our governmental policies too often lack continuity and coherence because of it. In many ways the effectiveness and economy of the national government suffer severely owing to the fact that so often the executive and the legislature act at cross purposes, or on insufficient and inaccurate information, or from a misunderstanding of the motives of each other. This difficulty could be in large measure removed if action were taken, as might easily and constitutionally be done, giving to the members of the President's Cabinet seats upon the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives, with the right to participate in debate upon matters relating to their several departments and with the obligation to answer questions and to give information in response to requests from Senators and Representatives. This is not a new proposal. It is associated chiefly with

the name of Senator Pendleton of Ohio, who brought it forward as long ago as 1864, when he was a member of the House of Representatives. He was vigorously supported at that time by Mr. Garfield and by Mr. Blaine. Fifteen years later, when Mr. Pendleton was United States Senator from Ohio, he returned to the subject and introduced a bill dealing with the matter, which was referred to a select committee and soon reported favorably over the signature of Senator Pendleton himself, together with those of Senators Allison of Iowa, Voorhees of Indiana, Blaine of Maine, Butler of South Carolina, Ingalls of Kansas, Platt of Connecticut and Farley of California. Even these important leaders, however, could not accomplish this desirable reform, although they were united in its support. The proposal was renewed again by John D. Long of Massachusetts, when a member of the House of Representatives, in 1886. It has recently received the endorsement of President Taft.

That this action would, if taken, greatly increase the efficiency of our government and bring the executive and the legislative branches into closer understanding of each other's methods and purposes, without in the least trenching upon the independence and authority of either, seems to me quite certain. One of the most valuable features in the business of the House of Commons is the asking by members of the House of specific questions on matters concerning which the public wishes information, or about which some criticism or discussion has arisen. Many a long and useless speech that now extends over pages of the Congressional Record would be saved if a responsible Cabinet officer were at hand to give immediate answer to a definite question, or to offer a statement of fact.

V. There is no reason, save the sheer force of custom, for adhering longer to the present plan of electing a new Congress in November and providing for its first regular

session to begin thirteen months afterward. The Congress would be more closely in touch with popular sentiment and more responsive to it, as well as in better mood for constructive legislation, if it were statedly convened within sixty or ninety days of the time when its members are chosen. As matters are at present, a member of the House of Representatives is already concerned with the preliminaries of a campaign for re-election before he has really entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office.

VI. In the nation we have the principle of the short ballot. It will be a step in advance when we extend this principle to all the States. The State of New Jersey has enjoyed it for many years, and in consequence has one of the best governments of any State in the Union. Where the short ballot is adopted, public interest and attention are centered upon the most important executive and legislative officers, and they are chosen and held responsible for the selection of their associates in the minor offices of government. A large part of the extravagance and maladministration in county government throughout the United States is due to the election by the people of a long list of minor officials who have no common sense of responsibility and no common purpose. We need the short ballot in the State and in the county as we already have it in the nation and are rapidly getting it in the municipalities.

Here, then, are six important steps forward waiting to be taken: A more flexible method of amending the constitution of the United States; a more satisfactory way of nominating and electing public officers; improvement in legislative methods and procedure; giving to members of the President's Cabinet seats on the floor of both Houses of Congress, with the right to participate in debates concerning their several departments; beginning the regular session of Congress at a point much nearer to the election of its members

than now; and the extension of the principle of the short ballot.

Some of these reforms relate to the national government alone, while others affect both the government of the nation and that of the States. It can hardly be doubted that the cumulative effect of the adoption of all six proposals would be greatly to improve the work of our governmental system as a whole, and to allay a large part of the dissatisfaction with it that now exists.

Given these improvements, then concrete problems of legislation and administration may be attacked with greater hope of success and satisfaction. We should not delay even a month in trying to secure a modern and scientific system of banking and currency without waiting for the lessons of another money panic. We should labor to bring greater economy into the field of public expenditure, and to weigh carefully the effect upon the cost of living of governmental extravagance and the constant creation of huge volumes of bonded indebtedness. We should support the businesslike recommendation of President Taft for the formulation of an annual national budget, that some semblance of order may be brought into the present chaos of national appropriation and expenditure. We should follow the suggestions of the American Bar Association and other important authorities, to the end that undue delay in judicial procedure may be avoided and that numerous and costly appeals, particularly when based on technical points, may be reduced so far as is consistent with strict justice. We should consider with an open mind whether the effect is good or ill of depending so largely as we do upon indirect taxation, and whether if more direct taxes are to be levied, they should not be levied with the lowest possible limit of exemption, in order to bring the cost of government home to substantially the entire electorate. We should push

forward along the road already traveled by the national government and by many States toward the improvement of social conditions and the betterment of those who are forced to live on the very margin of want. We should plan vigorously and wisely for the prevention, and not alone for the cure, of the many difficulties and injustices now existing in society, and do so in a spirit that will not lead the individual to lean more heavily upon the community, but rather help him to stand yet more surely and confidently upon his own feet. We should aim not to bring the government into partnership with monopoly and privilege, but in all our legislation affecting these matters, whether in the State or in the nation, to keep open the channels both of competition and of useful combination by preventing monopoly on the one hand and by punishing specifically unfair and dishonorable business practices on the other. We have, fortunately, learned as a people the meaning of the words "the conservation of our natural resources," and it is the policy of progress to go forward systematically and intelligently with the course that has already been adopted. We should refrain always and under whatever temptation from a policy of international bravado and swagger, and should yield nothing, whether by careless act or by considered policy, of the leadership that we have gained in promoting the cause of international peace and the judicial settlement of disputes between the civilized nations.

All these matters and a score more suggest themselves to the eager American mind bent on high achievement and securing the just working of government for noble ends. A government must first of all make certain its own security and stability. It must then labor to advance the national ideal and at the same time strive to take an honorable part in the life and aspirations of the world as a whole.

In such ways as these lies the path of true progress in politics. That path is not to be found amid the morasses

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of discontent, of class feeling, of the grasping for privilege and monopoly, or by making the individual lean constantly more heavily upon the community for maintenance and support. It is to be found rather out on the clear and sunlit heights of individual opportunity, where a fair chance is given to every man to stand erect and to do a man's work in the world, knowing that thereby he is serving the state and helping to build civilization on a yet securer basis.

For my own part, I should like to be able to say of the political party in whose tenets I believe, and to which I am glad to belong, what Robert Lowe said of the Liberal party in Great Britain in the dark days of 1878, when its prestige seemed fatally broken and its long-time power trampled under foot by the triumphant opposition:

"The ideal of the Liberal party," said Robert Lowe, "consists in a view of things undisturbed and undistorted by the promptings of interest or prejudice, in a complete independence of all class interests, and in relying for its success on the better feelings and higher intelligence of mankind."

"Happier words," said Matthew Arnold of this passage, "could not well be found."

Two years later the Liberal party, pursuing this ideal, was returned to power under the leadership of William E. Gladstone.

PRESIDENT CARR: Doctor Butler, on behalf of the members of this Club, and our guests, allow me to express very great appreciation of your presence this evening and for your most forceful and interesting address.

The meeting stands adjourned.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH REGULAR MEETING

SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1913

Open Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

THE BUSINESS FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY

Governor Woodrow Wilson
President-Elect of the United States

PRESIDENT CARR. Ladies and Gentlemen: The meetings of The Commercial Club have not often been graced by the presence of ladies. To-night we have been glad to sympathize with their wish to join with the Club in honoring our distinguished guest.

Incidentally, we appreciate how constant and natural is their interest in the evening's subject, "The Business Future of the Country." I value the privilege on behalf of the members of the Club, to extend to the ladies and our other guests a most sincere and cordial welcome.

Among the cherished memories of meetings in years past, none is more treasured than of those when Governor Wilson was the guest of honor, but we have a due appreciation of the significance of this meeting and of the compliment our guest has paid The Commercial Club in agreeing to address us on a topic of such absorbing interest.

It is a great privilege to welcome our fellow-citizen who has been chosen to the highest office in the gift of any people. It is a greater privilege to receive him as an old friend of the Club.

Someone has said, "Much smaller boys than formerly stand awed before a private car, and the thinkers and experts are rising steadily in the estimation of mankind."

For national leadership, we turn instinctively to one who

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can think out the complex problems of our modern life; to one who appreciates that confidence in the business world makes for progress, as well as prosperity, just as distrust leads to reaction and disaster.

I believe it absolutely fair to say that Governor Wilson will enter upon the great duties and responsibilities of the presidency with the hearty good wishes and confidence of a larger percentage of his fellow-citizens than any other successful candidate since the days of President Monroe, the era of good feeling. He enjoys this unusual confidence because the people believe that while he is not one who would ruthlessly destroy, they also believe that, if to refresh the processes of business life changes are necessary, he will be found at the task with an absolutely inflexible will; because they also believe in his ideal that service is the business of mankind; because they know that he has been a profound student of human government who possesses intensity of feeling and a heart where sympathy has a place.

It is not eulogy to say that we may well have increased confidence in the stability and perpetuity of our institutions when our people honor themselves by electing as their chief magistrate one who combines, as does Governor Wilson, trained ability and attainments of the highest order with finest patriotism and loftiest ethical ideals.

Ladies and gentlemen, the President-Elect.

THE BUSINESS FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY*

GOVERNOR WOODROW WILSON

President-Elect of the United States

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I look back with the greatest pleasure upon the frequent occasions when I have dined with this Club. Indeed, I dare say that I have experienced more pleasure on former occasions than I am

* Stenographic copy of address.

experiencing now, because it is more pleasant to tell men what they ought to do when none of the burden of it falls upon you, than to tell them what ought to be done when so much of the burden is likely to center upon yourself.

I remember the first visit that I paid to this Club as a guest of one of your members, but not as a speaker. You were addressed by a certain Mr. Warner, at one time a Senator of the State of New York, on the then proposed enterprise of cutting a canal through the Isthmus on the Nicaraguan route by private capital. And I remember that he had spread behind him a map that was most ingeniously contrived to show that all routes of trade ran through Chicago. It was not a map merely of the United States, it was a map of the world, and I reflected even in those immature years how subtle the human mind is, and how apt it is to the processes of flattery. But I also noticed that you listened with respect but not with credulity, because I never heard that his enterprise was at all set forward by any material assistance from Chicago. There were many gentlemen then as there are now in the company who were accustomed to the routes of trade in America and knew where they ran.

I have been reflecting as I sat here to-night that it would be futile for me to pretend that the chief routes of thought ran through Chicago, but that I want to induce you, if I may, to travel, or perhaps I should say to forecast, some of the routes of thought which must be traveled in this country if we are to settle the problems that are now immediately confronting us. But I am not here to tell you to-night what I am going to do. I am not here to speak of the responsibilities which will fall upon me. I tell you frankly that if I permitted my thought to dwell on the responsibilities which will center upon myself, I should be daunted in facing the future.

I come here to ask for your counsel and assistance and to remind you of the responsibilities which lie upon you as representative of the people in America. The business future of this country does not depend upon the government of the United States. It depends upon the business men of the United States.

The government cannot breed a temper in men, the government cannot generate thought and purpose; and only the temper and the thought and the purpose of business men in America is going to determine what the future of business shall be.

There are many things to do which you can do without the assistance and also without the whip of law, and the thing which is done only under the whip of the law is done imperfectly, reluctantly, sometimes sullenly, and never successfully.

The hope of America is in the changing attitude of the business men of this country towards the things which they have to handle in the future. If thought and temper had not changed the things could not have happened which have happened in recent months. For what you have witnessed within the last two months is not merely a political change, it is a change in the attitude and judgment of the American people. One of the reasons why there were not merely two parties contending for supremacy at the recent election, one reason why the field of choice was varied and multiplied, was that the old lines are breaking up where they are oldest, and that men are no longer to be catalogued, no longer to be found by dead reckoning, no longer to be put in classes as if their thinking had been concluded and they were no longer casting about for the things which they should have and the things which they should do. America has come upon a new period of new thinking, and she is going to think her way out to a triumphant solution of her difficulties.

There are some perfectly clear lines that may be laid down. There are four sets of things which have to be done. In the first place we have to husband and administer the common resources of this country for the common benefit.

Now, not all business men in this country have devoted their thought to that object. They have devoted their thought very successfully to exploiting the resources of America, but very few business men have devoted their thought to husbanding the resources of America. And very few indeed have had the attitude of those who administer a great trust in administering those natural resources. Until the business men of America make up their minds both to husband and to administer as if for others as well as for their own profit the natural resources of this country, some of the questions ahead of us will be immensely difficult of solution.

Why is it that the government of the United States up to this moment has not hit upon a consistent policy of conservation? It has not. You must be aware that a mere policy of reservation is not a policy of conservation. It is in one sense a policy of conservation for it conserves, but no nation can merely keep out of use its resources in order that they may not be squandered and dissipated. We must devise some process of general use. And why have we not done so? Why, if I am not very much mistaken, because the government at Washington was tremendously suspicious of everybody who approached it for rights in the water powers and forest reserves and mineral reserves of the western country which the federal government still controls. They looked with suspicion upon every applicant to use them. They cannot have looked with suspicion except because they believed that the men engaged in these great enterprises had not yet the national point of view. If they believed that the business men of that sort were purposing to husband these resources and constitute themselves,

as in some sense they are, trustees for future generations who would need them as much as this generation needs them, there would have been no ground for suspicion. They would have felt a free hand in the matter of framing a policy which they could have pursued. So that when the government at Washington undertakes in the future to develop a policy of this sort, the first thing it must know is the state of mind, the psychology, the purpose, the attitude of the man it is dealing with. That attitude must be declared and open and transparent. Don't you see that is your responsibility, not mine? I shall sit there and try to preside over the matter but I shall know what to do only as I can judge the men I am dealing with. The moment their purpose is declared to be for the general interest and shown by their procedure to be for the general interest then the whole atmosphere of suspicion will be dissipated, and the government will come to a normal relation with the citizens of the United States.

Then there is another thing that is to be done. The raw materials obtainable in this country for every kind of manufacture and industry must be at the disposal of everybody in the United States upon the same terms. I do not mean that the government must determine upon what terms they must be available, but merely that they shall be available upon the same terms to whoever applies to use them or to purchase them; that there shall not be discrimination among those who are to have access to these resources.

That, it is true, is merely a part and a specification under what I have already been talking about. If those raw materials are to be used in the spirit of those who would serve the whole country only, without regard to section or individual, then our future is assured of an absence of the kind of discrimination which the whole temper of this country has sternly risen against. I want to take sternness

out of this country. I want to see suspicion dissipated. I want to see a time brought about when the perfectly artificial condition now existing, when the rank and file of the citizens of the United States have a stern attitude toward the business men of the country, shall be absolutely done away with and forgotten. Perfectly honest, upright, patriotic men whom any one of us could pick out, are at a disadvantage now in America because business, business methods in general, are not trusted by the people, taken as a whole. That is unjust to you; it is unjust to everybody with whom business deals and everybody whom business touches.

They do not believe in the United States — I mean the rank and file of our people — that men of every kind are upon an equality in their access to the resources of the country, any more than they believe that everybody is upon equal terms in their access to the justice of the country. Is it believed — I am not stating whether it is true or not, for a belief is a fact and the facts that we are dealing with now are beliefs more than anything else — it is believed in this country that a poor man has less chance to get justice administered to him than a rich man. God forbid that that should be generally true. But so long as it is believed, the belief constitutes a threatening fact.

I have been told by some gentlemen with whom I have dealt in politics — and I have dealt with some gentlemen rather intimately in politics — that I am not treating them fairly because I understand their motives, and the general public does not understand their motives; and I consider myself privileged to say to them: “I cannot deal with you until you make the general public understand your motives, because their belief that you are not acting upon high motives is the fundamental, underlying, governing belief of the way they vote, and you have got to clear yourselves before the general jury.”

Now that goes hard. It goes hard with my heart.

There are men whom I have a very warm feeling for, whom I cannot encourage to take an active part in affairs because the general public does not believe in them. I am trying to set before you the psychology of the situation. That is the hardest nut we have to crack.

There are business problems which it would be easy to deal with if the people were in the temper to deal with them, but they are not, and we must get them in the temper to deal with them, and that job is yours, not mine. You are conducting the business of the country. I am not.

There is a third thing which you must do which has not yet been done. You must put the credit of this country at the disposal of everybody upon equal terms. Now, I am not entering into an indictment against the banking methods of this country. The banking system of this country does not need to be indicted. It is convicted.

I am not aware of having a single indictment in my thought against any class of my fellow-citizens, but there is reason to believe from things said under oath that there are inner circles and outer circles of credit in this country. There are regions of chilly exclusion and there are regions of warm inclusion. You cannot get into the game in some instances unless you are upon certain terms with the gentlemen who are running the game.

Now, I want to hasten to say that I believe that some of these gentlemen who are running the game intend to run it fairly, but there are some gentlemen whom they know and some whom they do not know. There are some whom they recognize as entitled to come in and some whom they do not recognize as entitled to come in, and the future belongs to the men who are not yet recognized. This country is not going to grow rich in the future by the efforts of the men who have already got in. It is going to grow rich by the efforts of the men who have not yet got in. A truism; it

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is going to get rich by the efforts of future generations after this generation is gone.

Generations do not come on by sharp cleavage. One generation does not end to-day and another begin to-morrow. They are interlaced. The next generation is now struggling for a foothold, and the next generation finds it extremely difficult to get a foothold.

The credit of this country must be open upon equal terms and with equal readiness upon the same terms to everybody, and the bankers of this country and the men who have the credits of this country in their control must see to that first of all before they can expect to enjoy the confidence of the country, and to have the problems peculiar to them settled without prejudice against them.

My dearest hope in my administration is that prejudices such as have been its evil may be dissolved and destroyed, the prejudices between sections, for example. The only advantage of having elected — I mean the only peculiar advantage of having elected — a man born in the South President of the United States is that men will realize that the South is a part of the union, and that men born in the South are not in the least inclined to draw sectional differences in guiding the policy of the nation.

I am free to admit that a great many able men have come from the South, but that is by the largess of nature. You know the Englishman who was talking to the Scotchman who appeared inclined to contend that everybody who had ever amounted to much in English history was either Scotch or had a predominance of Scotch blood in him. The Englishman presently in irritation said, "You will be claiming Shakespeare next." "Weel, mon, he had intellect enough." And I am free to admit that I have met a great many men in the North who had intellect enough to be Southerners.

But quite apart from playfulness and jest, the happiest

circumstance of my election is that I am the instrument, the innocent instrument, of bringing about an end of the old feeling that the Southerner was not of the same political breed and purpose with the rest of American citizens. And I would like to hope that there would be associated with the death of that prejudice the death of many another prejudice, particularly these prejudices which are getting such a formidable hold amongst us as between class and class, between those who hold the resources of the country and those who use the resources of the country. They are more fatal by way of obstacles to the happy solution of questions of different policy. They are fatal to all others and should be removed, and they can be removed only in one way, by having no substantial basis in fact.

If the credits of this country were upon equal terms to everybody, the impression would never have got abroad that they are not. The people of the United States do not have nightmares. They do not dream things that are not so. They do not get those deeply rooted in their convictions with no cause and provocation. And then in addition and on top of all this, we must see to it that the business of the United States is set absolutely free of every feature of monopoly. I notice you do not applaud that. I am somewhat disappointed, because unless you feel that way the thing is not going to happen except by duress, the worst way to bring anything about, because there will be monopoly in this country until there are no important business men in this country who do not intend to bring it about. I know that when they are talking about it that they say there is not anybody in the United States who ever intended to set up a monopoly. But I know there are some gentlemen who did deliberately go about to set up a monopoly. We know that they intended to do it because they did it, and because they did it in a way which inevitably led to monopoly. We know it because they organized their business, or

rather capitalized their business, in such a way that they could not endure if they were not out to set up a monopoly.

You cannot carry water against competition. I was accused the other day, and I am happy to plead guilty, of saying the same things after I was elected that I said before I was elected. Now, one of the things that I said most often during the campaign was this: "I don't care how big a particular business gets, provided it grows big in contact with sharp competition," and I know that a business based upon genuine capital which has not a drop of water in it can be conducted with greater efficiency and economy than a business that is loaded with water. Just so soon as the gentlemen who carry water, some of them on both shoulders, are exposed to the competition of men of equal wit who do not carry water, the thing is settled, and I am willing to abide by the results, if we can prevent monopoly and produce competition wherever men are strong enough to set it up. I am not interested in setting men up in business, but I am interested in leaving the doors open so that strong men at least can come in and set it up for themselves; and so soon as you produce that situation, then there will not be any necessity for government to come in and take a hand in administering the business of the United States. I for my part hope that the government of the United States never will take a hand in administering the business of a body of people who, above all others in the world, are prepared to take care of themselves, at least who used to be prepared to take care of themselves. They have been very much demoralized by the system of taxation which centers in the tariff.

I am alarmed at the number of business men that beat the world who are afraid to go out and take the weather in a country the richest in the world, the richest in resources, and I am fain to believe the richest in brains, who say, "For God's sake don't take the cover from over our heads,

don't expose us to competition with the wits and resources of other countries, which we have all along claimed to be our inferiors in both." But there was a time, and it is going to come back, when this country was able to take care of itself. It will be abundantly able to take care of itself when its energies are really realized and no man is afraid of anybody else; when every man has the same right to conduct an independent business that every other man has; when every man knows that the business community is open for him to enter and be welcome. Then there is going to come a season of prosperity in this country which it has never known or dreamed of, but not until then. You cannot have prosperity personally conducted. You cannot have prosperity conducted by small circles of individuals. No body of men less than the whole manhood of the nation knows enough to be trustees for the rest. The only thing that makes society various and rich is that men whom we never heard of can come in at any time and put us on our mettle to beat them.

I glory in democracy for that alone, that it is a competition into which any man may enter, no matter what his antecedents, no matter what his training, no matter what his origin, no matter what his natural handicaps. The great pleasure of a college man is to see some awkward youngster whose brain seems at first to run sluggish, come in among the smart set and put them to their mettle to beat him, not only at the use of his brain but at the use of his muscle, the skill of his hand, the adroitness of his address, his mastery in a company of cultivated men. That makes me proud, when the men with a handicap win the race and win it as if they had started at scratch.

So that what I have come to say to you to-night is this: Just as soon as you make up your minds that there shall be no monopoly in the United States there won't be any monopoly in the United States. It is a purpose, and laws

have to be devised in order to head off wrong purposes more than they have to be devised to head off wrong acts. Because, as I was just agreeing with one of my neighbors — since there are gentlemen in the same profession which I am in myself at this table I won't say which of my neighbors — one of the difficulties in politics is the shrewdness with which a certain sort of politician covers his tracks. You never know who his agent is, you never know whether you are dealing with him or somebody else. His approaches to you are so rounded and so various, and he is so absolutely sleepless and adroit in the way he does things, and as long as you are suspicious you are safe.

Well, now, that ought not to be the case with law. Law ought not to be based upon suspicion. Law ought to be based upon the premise that only the exceptional man is going to try to circumvent the law. I do not mean the exceptional man in ability, but the exceptional man in character. If only the crooks tried to circumvent the law in the United States very much less law would be necessary. But there are some men who have permitted themselves to circumvent the law who are not crooks. The purpose is of the essence of the character of the nation.

Now, gentlemen, we are witnessing a new age. The nation has awakened. We have asked for and obtained a change of venue. We used to try every governmental case before a selected jury, and the jury selected were always the same men. Now we are trying it before the people of the United States, and the people of the United States are going to reach a true verdict. There is not going to be any disagreement in the jury; it is not going to be hung and it is not going to stay out long. Just as soon as the facts are laid before it, it is going to come in with its judgment, and its judgment is going to be executed in the political action of the United States. That is what I mean by a change of venue. The jury is drawn from a wider panel, there are

more names in the hat, and that jury is now of the temper of the people who witnessed the setting up of the institutions under which we have been so long free and so long happy.

I feel, and I believe that everyone assisting with me feels, in the atmosphere of this age the stimulation of that elder day in which men went about to set up a government which was not intended to serve their private interests but which was intended to serve mankind. Not merely to serve the people of America, for the view of that elder age was not confined to the three million people then constituting a little fringe of civilization along the Atlantic shore. The vision of those men was of the coming in of the nations across the waters to this haven of freedom and of emancipation, and they foresaw the day when men of every sort — and how their vision has been fulfilled — when men of every nation and every sort should seek the shores of America in order to take a free share in institutions intended not for the private benefit of anyone, but for the elevation of the race as a whole.

Some of those gentlemen, whose names we remember with such acclaim, who used to be in little neighborhood coteries down in the old dominion of Virginia, met in order to devise changes which were distinctly against the economic interest of Virginia, and they contrived them upon the principle that it was their duty to embark their fortunes and their honor in the enterprises of setting men everywhere free of every kind of trammel and restraint and unfairness.

Ah, that day has come back. Don't you feel it? Do you look at your business any longer within the four walls of your office? Don't you feel the thrill that comes to you from the rest of America? Don't you know that men everywhere are looking to you with confidence and with hope, on the assurance that you are not waiting for the whip of the law, but that you also are Americans, that you also are born with that unconquerable spirit of aspiration

which is the only distinction that ever belonged to the country that we love? America is not distinguished because she established a stable government,—other countries have established stable governments,—but because she established a government to be shot through with the hopes of humble men. The only glory of America is her spiritual glory, and when she takes down those ensigns of spiritual freedom she will have surrendered to greed, the deposed spirit that has wrecked so many governments, that has disappointed so many parties, that has made it impossible to lift the race to the standards to which we all aspire. I believe that when I have the privilege of attacking some of the problems before me I shall, if I can, conceive them in the spirit of America, for you as well as for everybody else, for I believe you have begun.

I have no intimate knowledge of the processes of business. I never was engaged in business in my life. I must take counsel with the men who do understand business, and I dare not take counsel with them unless they intend the same things that I intend. I dare not. I am under bonds to the people of the United States. The man who does not hold their interests dearer than his own, I cannot admit into my council. I would be faithless if I did. I have made promises which I regard as intimately involved with my essential honor. I can serve only one master, and no group of individuals can speak for my master. I am a trustee for the prosperity of the United States in council, and the council that is not common council, the council that does not include you is imperfect council, is council which will mislead. Won't you come in? Have you not come in? Is it not your purpose to re-establish economic freedom in the United States? Aren't we all in the same boat? Can't I enlist you to-night in the common enterprise? There is no bright prospect otherwise.

I have preached this thing for twenty-five years. I

preached it during a great many years when no particular heed was paid to what I said. The only value I attach to my present position is that men will listen to me; that they will listen to me whether they want to or not; that they have got to listen to me. And yet I am preaching the same thing that I preached as a boy; I purpose the same things that I purposed as a boy. I hope that the visions I had as a boy are about to be translated into facts and that the great energies of the American people are about to be united in a thing which will set an example of emancipation from prejudice and constriction of every kind to the world. God grant it may be true.

I made this engagement before I was nominated. I have not accepted any invitation to speak since I was nominated. I came here to redeem a promise which I would not have made if I had known I was going to be nominated. And I would not have come here then if it had not occurred to me that I might now say that I do not deem myself at liberty to go around and indulge in the pleasure of dining unless I may say to men after I have dined exactly what I think, and express what I think in the terms of the general partnership of purpose and of honor which it seems to me we have now entered. The bonds are now signed. We are of the same race, that splendid American race into which has been drawn all the riches of a hundred bloods, and now as a united people we are going to redeem the ancient pledges of America.

PRESIDENT CARR: It now remains to me to thank our distinguished guest for his presence with us to-night and to again remind him that we all value his presence here this evening.

The meeting is adjourned.

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH REGULAR MEETING

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1913

Closed Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

Report of Committee on a Federal Immigration
Station in Chicago

Report of Committee on Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws

Report of Educational Committee

Report of Committee on Plan of Chicago

PRESIDENT CARR: The Executive Committee thought best to arrange for a closed meeting this evening, amid these familiar surroundings, to give the members an opportunity to meet with each other more informally than at the regular dinners, and to discuss the activities of the Club.

The Commercial Club was organized in 1877 to advance the public welfare both by co-operative effort, social intercourse and free interchange of views. The success of the Club for the thirty-six years of its existence may be largely attributed to its insistent interest in the public welfare and to the loyalty and painstaking efforts of its active committees. Certificate of membership in the Commercial Club does not simply carry dinner privileges, but is essentially a pledge of service, and whoever wishes to enjoy the great privilege of this association must consent to bear his share in serving it. If he is to profit by the honor of such association, he must place his service by word and deed at its disposal. If the Club at any time in its history becomes

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primarily a social organization, a dining club, in my humble opinion, from that date its influence in this community will wane. It affords me much pleasure to testify to the arduous labors of those comprising the active committees of this year, and I am convinced that many of our club members have little knowledge of how much has been accomplished since the closed meeting in April last. I shall not trespass further on the time of the chairmen of these committees.

The Committee on a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago has a splendid record of achievement for the year. By recent action of the Senate in passing an appropriation of \$75,000.00, the Inland Immigration Station in Chicago will doubtless become a reality. I will call on Mr. John E. Wilder, chairman of that committee, for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

MR. WILDER: Mr. President and Gentlemen: The Federal Immigration Station Committee is pleased to report that for the past four years it has been working with the co-operation of the officers of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago in its efforts at Washington, through the Department of Commerce and Labor, to effect the establishment of such a station in Chicago.

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor in his report to the Sixty-second Congress recommended that the sum of \$75,000.00 be appropriated for the establishment of a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago. To make such an appropriation possible a Bill was drawn by Prof. Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago, which was presented in Congress by Congressman A. J. Sabath.

The Bill reads as follows:

FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

H. R. 21220-62nd Congress, 3rd Session:

“An Act to extend the power of the Commissioner General of Immigration, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the power of establishing rules and regulations for protecting the United States and aliens migrating thereto from fraud and loss, conferred upon the Commissioner General of Immigration, subject to the direction and with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, by section twenty-two of an Act entitled “An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States,” approved February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, shall be, and the same is hereby extended to the supervision of the transportation of aliens to their respective places of destination in the interior of the United States, and of their safe conduct upon arrival at such places, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may establish stations for the purpose of such supervision within the limits of the amount that may be appropriated for that purpose and subject to the terms and conditions of the Act making such appropriations; provided, that nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commissioner General of Immigration to pay the cost of transportation of any arriving alien.

SEC. 2. That for the establishment and maintenance of such a station in the City of Chicago for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and thirteen, there is hereby authorized, from moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of Seventy-five Thousand Dollars, which shall be expended in such manner consistent with the purposes hereof as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may direct.

SEC. 3. That for succeeding years estimates of the appropriations necessary for the service hereby established shall be included in the estimation for the Immigration Service annually submitted to Congress.

Passed the House of Representatives, December 16, 1912.
Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE, Clerk.”

This Bill was passed by the House in December, 1912,

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just prior to its adjournment for the Christmas holidays. The Bill was then referred to the Senate early in January, where it was followed by your committee in person and by letters to the immigration committee of the Senate and was in its amended form passed by the Senate on January 21st, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that for the purpose of making effective the power of establishing rules and regulations for protecting the United States and aliens migrating thereto from fraud and loss, conferred upon the Commissioner General of Immigration, subject to the direction and with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, by section twenty-two of an Act entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall establish and maintain immigrant stations at such interior places as may be necessary, and, in the discretion of the said Secretary, aliens in transit from ports of landing to such interior stations shall be accompanied by immigrant inspectors; provided, that nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commissioner General of Immigration to pay the cost of transportation of any arriving alien.

SEC. 2. That for the establishment and maintenance of such a station in the City of Chicago for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fourteen, there is hereby authorized from moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of Seventy-five Thousand Dollars, which shall be expended in such manner consistent with the purposes hereof as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may direct.

Passed the House of Representatives, December 16, 1912.

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE, Clerk.

As the matter now stands it is the purpose of the friends of the Bill in the House of Representatives to accept the Senate Bill as amended and to pass the Bill without further

FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

discussion so as to avoid referring it to the Conference Committee.

It is hoped that the appropriation of \$75,000.00 which was originally recommended by Secretary Nagel, and which is embodied in the Sabath Bill, will now be provided by the Appropriation Committee of the House either in the Sundry Service Bill or in the General Deficiency Bill, and that the funds may become available upon July 1st, 1913. Otherwise it will be 1914 before the funds will be forthcoming.

The Commercial Club is deeply indebted to the individual members of the Immigration Committee of the Senate and of the House of Representatives for their great personal interest in the efficacy of the measure, whose scope is not in any way confined to the City of Chicago, but will become far-reaching in its effects, as it may be extended after the first year to such other cities as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may direct. Under its provision, also, trains carrying immigrants from ports of entry to the interior may in future be under the personal supervision of federal officers, and further exploitations and frauds practiced upon our incoming citizens must cease.

Your committee recommends that a Resolution of Appreciation be drafted by the Secretary, expressing the appreciation of the Club, to Prof. Freund, to Congressman Sabath and to the Congressmen of Illinois, for their hearty co-operation in the passage of H. R. 21220.

Your committee has had the honor of entertaining in Chicago at luncheon Senator Dillingham of Vermont, who is a member of the Senate Immigration Committee, together with all of the Illinois members of the House of Representatives who were at that time in the city. Several meetings of the committee have been held in Chicago and members of the committee have visited Washington in the interest of the work at different times.

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One fifth of the funds appropriated for the expenses of the committee still remain in the treasury of the Club.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN E. WILDER, *Chairman.*

ALBERT B. DICK

BERNARD A. ECKHART

ALEXANDER A. McCORMICK

ALLEN B. POND

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, what is your pleasure regarding this letter to be drafted by the Secretary of the Club as suggested by the committee?

MR. CLOW: I move that a letter be drafted by the Secretary as recommended by the committee.

(Motion duly seconded and carried.)

PRESIDENT CARR: As you recall, the Club had an interesting November meeting on the subject of "Taxation Reform in Illinois," at which addresses were made by President James of the University of Illinois, Mr. John P. Wilson, of the Chicago Bar, and our fellow member, Mr. Harrison B. Riley. Since that time, the Committee on Taxation, of which Mr. A. C. Bartlett is chairman, has been doing effective work, and has achieved much in laying the foundation for improvements in our Illinois laws. Unfortunately Mr. Bartlett is in the far West, but Mr. Eckhart, vice-chairman of the committee, will now report on the activities of the Committee on Taxation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF ILLINOIS TAXATION LAWS

MR. ECKHART: Mr. President and Gentlemen: Your Committee on Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws begs to report that since its last communication to the Club, the prospect of getting action at Springfield, during the present session of the legislature, has measurably improved. This

comes about, in part at least, through the recent interpretation of the Juul law by the Supreme Court of the State, creating a necessity for the City of Chicago to find some means for supplementing its income.

A shrinkage of \$2,700,000 in the estimated revenues would not only call for a reduction of force and of salaries, but would effectually prohibit the making of much-needed improvements, including the building of bridges and inaugurating the new plan of Chicago. Such a shrinkage would unquestionably cripple the city.

Your committee, in co-operation with representatives of other organizations, has strongly urged that the demand for temporary relief be coupled with an effort to secure an amendment to the constitution which shall lead to the enactment of a just and equitable revenue law, preventing, in the future, the recurrence of such a condition as now prevails.

Members of your committee have consulted with the Mayor, and have met with members of other committees, with a view to formulating some plan upon which all could agree, and for the successful accomplishment of which all the organizations will heartily and energetically work. Your committee is encouraged to believe that such a result can be attained.

When the plea is made that our present revenue law is unjust; is a temptation to every property owner to be dishonest and to commit perjury; is not enforced either in spirit or in letter, and is a distinct disgrace to the great state of Illinois, not a dissenting voice is heard. The only discussion is upon the question, "Which is the paramount issue now before the public?" Is it the enactment of a new and equitable revenue law? Is it the consolidation of the park boards? Is it the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall? What is it? Your committee holds that all other issues combined, even though each could accomplish for the good of our citizens what its advocates contend, does

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not compare in value with the enactment of an honest and improved revenue law which can be enforced.

Your committee was authorized and appointed for the sole purpose of aiding in securing the necessary amendment to the constitution, through which it would be possible for the legislature to enact such a law. It now comes asking for authority to commit the Club to co-operation with the city officials and others in a combined effort to secure the constitutional amendment above mentioned, together with relief of Chicago's temporary financial distress through the issue of bonds or otherwise.

Your action is asked at the meeting in which this report is submitted.

Respectfully,

A. C. BARTLETT, *Chairman.*

CYRUS H. McCORMICK

by A. C. Bartlett

A. A. SPRAGUE, II

VICTOR F. LAWSON

WALTER H. WILSON

FRED W. UPHAM

B. A. ECKHART

Mr. Riley is in California.

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, what is your pleasure regarding the concurrence of the Club in this report?

MR. GLESSNER: Mr. Chairman, I would offer the following resolution:

Resolved. That the report of the Committee on Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws be accepted, and its request to commit The Commercial Club to co-operation with the city officials and others in a combined effort to secure the constitutional amendment referred to in the report of the committee, together with relief of Chicago's temporary financial distress through the issue of bonds or otherwise, be granted.

(Motion duly seconded.)

REVISION OF ILLINOIS TAXATION LAWS

PRESIDENT CARR: The motion has been made and seconded. It is now open for discussion and we will hear any discussion of this matter and try to answer any questions.

MR. ECKHART: The committee has had quite a number of sessions and conferences with other associations and representatives of other associations, and it has been determined that at this time we should act in co-operation with the city and with the state and with the other civic associations in order to secure the desired constitutional amendment, which, of course, does not in any way interfere with the temporary relief that the city is seeking by securing legislation to make up its deficit. It does not require a constitutional amendment to give the city temporary relief. The action with reference to the \$2,700,000 of bonds simply requires a statutory enactment. The amendment to the Juul law simply requires a legislative act. The only conflicting feature will be in connection with the people who are in favor of the initiative and referendum and the recall, and possibly woman's suffrage. We have endeavored to secure the co-operation of the city administration. We have represented to them that since the people of this state at the last election passed upon the question under the public policy act, and since the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the submission of the question of a constitutional amendment in relation to taxation, we think we will have no difficulty in finally convincing them that that should be the manner of procedure, but we know that there are quite a number of people who are quite enthusiastic in favor of the initiative and referendum. We also know that Governor Dunne favors it, and that it is a part of the Democratic platform, but we are hoping that we may convince them that this is a paramount issue, and I think that the people who listened to the addresses of Mr. John P. Wilson, Mr. Harrison B. Riley and President James feel that this issue is paramount to anything else.

(The resolution prevailed unanimously.)

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PRESIDENT CARR: Vocational education in this country is assured. One of the leading educators in this country said in December that whether or not all of the recommendations of The Commercial Club be followed in enacting an Illinois law on this subject, still it was a fact that the establishment of vocational education in America had been advanced fully five years because of the activities of The Commercial Club of Chicago. Doctor Nicholas Murray Butler, in an address shortly following this time, said, "If this Club and those co-operating with you are able to lead the way in this state, to give counsel and advice and leadership to those of us in other states, then if your Club had never done anything else, if you had never rendered any other services to your own members or to the community, you might feel perfectly satisfied that you had written a very large page in the economic and industrial history of the United States."

I will now introduce Mr. Clayton Mark, Chairman of the Educational Committee.

MR. MARK: Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: There is no doubt in my mind as to the truth of the statement just quoted by the chairman; namely, that practical vocational education has been forwarded by a number of years through the work of The Commercial Club. The Educational Committee has had calls from all parts of the United States and from Canada for Mr. Cooley's report of last year, "Vocational Education in Europe," and something like 2,500 copies have been distributed. Letters of commendation and congratulation have been received from educators, representative employers of labor and from representative labor leaders. There seems to have been a feeling that people generally were not awake to the fact that our public school instruction methods were not keeping pace with the country's commercial and industrial development. The tenor of many letters received is that if The Commercial

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Club had done nothing more than arouse the people to a sense of their responsibility in this direction, its work would have met an urgent need. You know, it seems to be characteristic of Americans, when brought face to face with any requirement, to meet it effectively. And so the Educational Committee felt, and believed the other members of the Club would feel, that its task should not be laid aside until practical vocational education was provided for by law in Illinois. Therefore, during the past several months, our activities have been directed to that specific purpose.

Acting upon the offer of co-operation on the part of the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Hamilton Club, and the Civic Federation, an associated committee was organized, made up of representatives of your Educational Committee and the educational committees of those organizations. Frequent meetings of this associated committee have been held, at which vocational schools and legislation for their establishment and maintenance have been painstakingly and exhaustively discussed. Last August a "Tentative Draft of Proposed Bill" was drawn, outlining plan of administration, courses of study, and providing for the levy of a special maintenance tax, to be paid half by the state and half by the local community. This draft, accompanied by Mr. Cooley's "Statement of the Need of Vocational Schools in the United States," was sent broadcast throughout the state, with requests for criticisms and suggestions. Few suggestions were received, but criticisms came in freely. The feature of the draft which seemed to call forth the most opposition was the provision for separate boards of control in local communities. This opposition came largely from public school teachers and school officials. The statement of the "Need of Vocational Schools in the United States," has been called for by other organizations, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education requesting 2,000 copies for distribution

among its members. The "Tentative Draft of Proposed Bill" has been used as a textbook in the schools of education of some colleges and universities. I mention these two items as indicating the interest manifested in Mr. Cooley's recommendations.

The associated committee was divided into sub-committees as follows: Committee on Conference, which has met and conferred with other associations in the state interested in this movement; Committee on Labor, which has conferred with labor organizations and their representatives; Committee on Business Organizations; Committee on Agricultural Organizations; Committee on Publicity. These sub-committees are now all actively at work.

The need of vocational education and the advisability of establishing some systematic and practical means for obtaining it is now generally conceded. The only question is, what form of administration is best? We have found people who are desirous of reforming the entire public school system, seeking to do this through the popularity of vocational education. We have found others, interested in securing larger revenues for high school purposes where present revenue is insufficient, endeavoring to get a larger grant through the introduction of classes in vocational education. Mr. Cooley is with us to-night for the purpose of explaining our draft of bill and pointing out why we deem it essential to place the administration of these vocational schools in the hands of people associated with industry, both as employers and workers; why these schools should not be conducted by the school people under present form of school administration.

PRESIDENT CARR: Mr. Cooley, will you favor us with that?

MR. COOLEY: Mr. President and Gentlemen: We are all interested in this country in the problem of conservation. We are spending a lot of time talking about various forms

of conservation of our soils, forests, etc. Lately we have been thinking about conserving our human resources, following the lead of some of the older countries of the world that have realized the necessity of this sooner than we; naturally sooner than we, because they lacked our boundless natural resources.

All our schemes of education are, of course, forms of conservation. They all deal with the problem of making the human element more efficient and more successful. We have built up in this country a system of schools that we are all proud of and regard as very efficient in most respects; not that they are above criticism, but on the whole we feel that we have built up a very good system of schools.

There is one particular part of the program, however, that has not been covered by our school system. We have an elementary system terminating with children about the age of fourteen. We have a high school system for those who care to go further and prepare for the professions, cultural life. We have systems of universities, and we are supporting them in great shape. We think our system on the whole, so far as we have gone, is excellent, but there is one phase that so far we have not touched. We allow our boys and girls to leave school at the age of fourteen and go to work, just at the time when we believe they need education and care more than ever before. We think a system of schools that terminates at the age of fourteen, a system that is concerned with character building and citizen training, is a mistake and that this is the particular time in the life of the boys when they need further instruction and further guidance. We have allowed a large number of young people to leave our schools at this time and go to work, or if they do not go to work, they go into the streets. I presume there are 50,000 young people in the city of Chicago between the ages of fourteen and eighteen who are not in school or at any kind of efficient work. We know from figures

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given us by some of our local bodies that there are thousands of boys and girls in Chicago who need a type of school especially arranged to care for the needs of the boys and girls who have left the ordinary schools at fourteen.

This is one of the great conservation problems that this Club has undertaken to solve—simply to care for these young people who are not in other schools; who have either gone to work or have dropped out of school or are on the streets. We feel there should be something done for these young people, and the plan that the Club has taken up deals solely with these young people. We have not undertaken to propose anything that would bear on the problem of the elementary school or the high school. We do not mean by that to deny that they need improvement, but we think that our problem should be narrowed to the particular one that is before us. We have, therefore, provided for a new system of schools dealing specifically with this problem; not disturbing the other system in any way; not proposing to take anyone away from the other system of schools; not proposing to take any revenue away from the other system of schools; but simply to care for those that we think have been neglected.

There are two types of these schools that have been proposed. Some of these young people, most of them perhaps, have gone to work and probably need to go to work. These young people we propose to provide for in what are commonly called continuation schools, schools that take the boy or girl who is employed most of the time, and give him from six to eight hours of instruction per week between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, instruction that bears directly on the problems these young people are meeting in practical life; not a continuation or a repetition of the grammar, reading, writing and arithmetic that they have been getting, and that many of these young people have left school because they are tired of, but instruction that relates

practically to what they are doing, instruction which for that reason will interest the boy who has gone to work.

These school courses will aid to deal with the different occupations of children. The boy who is in somebody's factory that is manufacturing machinery will be put in a school where he will get practical instruction in mathematics, drawing, physics and other subjects that will immediately bear on what he is doing. You cannot take him in this little short course and go over the whole subject of mathematics, physics and chemistry: the time is not sufficient; so we undertake in these schools to give him such instruction in drawing and shop mathematics as will be helpful to him immediately, that he sees will be helpful, and that he will therefore be interested in. We endeavor to do this with every subject, and we think we can do this, because it has been done and done very successfully in a number of countries in the world.

These schools will deal, of course, with a very large number of occupations. The city of Berlin has a hundred different types of these schools; Munich fifty-two. A small country town will only have perhaps three or four. They undertake to so arrange the work of these schools that they will put meaning into the life of the boy; that the boy will be interested in it; that will make him more efficient and better satisfied, and, we believe, that will make him a better citizen.

Instruction can be arranged and provided in these schools that will help each one of the classes of young people. We will provide in our scheme for six hours a week, possibly eight or nine hours a week. This will mean that an employer will be required to make arrangements for permitting during the daytime these boys to leave their employment a certain number of hours a week. We do not think it would be at all advisable to send these young people to evening school and undertake to teach a jaded boy who has been at work in a

shop all day. Experience has shown that these hours can be arranged in such a way as not to seriously inconvenience the employer, and at the same time give the boy a chance to get some schooling when his mental fiber is in shape to be trained. That has been demonstrated, and we think there will be no trouble about that.

These continuation schools are a very important thing, a fundamental thing. They undertake to deal with the boy who is at work. But there are in this country a number of boys who do not go to school after fourteen and who do not go to work; who are not compelled by financial conditions to go to work. In America and in England they are not permitted usually to enter skilled trades at fourteen. We are illogical enough to allow them to leave school, but at the same time we do not permit them to enter skilled trades in America. We are, therefore, providing for full time vocational schools, taking the boys and girls who are fourteen or older for the two-year period, bridging over the gap between the time when they may leave the common school and enter into the skilled trades. These schools have been recommended by the Federation of Labor of the United States, as well as the continuation schools, and they do not labor under the stigma of being scab hatcheries. They will not get us into conflict with the labor people on the ground that they will turn out people who will injure them and take the place of labor in times of strikes. They will shorten the period of apprenticeship, and will be of immense service to those who take advantage of them.

I must say, however, right here that the number of those schools will be comparatively small. The schools will be expensive, they will require machinery and equipment, and they will cost money, and there will probably be but comparatively few people who will take advantage of them. The other class of schools, the continuation schools that I

have mentioned, do not necessarily mean machinery or expensive equipment of any sort.

Many people have the notion that these new schools mean a manual training equipment, mean a large expenditure of money. This is not the case at all. They take the boy right where he is and deal with him from that standpoint. If he is delivering packages for one of the department stores, they try to show him what that means, what takes place at each end of the process in the store, and where he delivers the package, so that he will know how the business is carried on and will be prepared to take a place inside as an efficient clerk. This does not mean an equipment of machinery.

A great many people have the idea that we are going to come in and take away the present manual training schools. Nothing of the sort. We do not disturb these schools in any way. The purpose is simply to put something into the lives of the boys who are at work that will make them more efficient and better men.

In the second type of these schools, the full time two-year schools, there is one form that ought to be immensely helpful to the public. This is what is known as the agricultural winter school for the country districts, where a boy at the present time either has to give up school, or go to town and go to a high school that takes him away from the farm. In this system we provide for a school from the first of November to the first of April, over which would be placed a practical farmer who has taken a course in an agricultural college and had experience on a farm. He will spend the remainder of his year on the farm in practical experimentation and giving advice to the farmers themselves. These men would simply be carrying a little further what has already been begun in DeKalb County, where we have one of these practical experts who is advising the farmers, conducting experiments in the rotation of crops and all sorts of things. Put this expert into a winter school and have the boys that

attend school during the time of year when they can be spared from work on the farm, and then have this same teacher go on the farm during the coming year, carrying into practice during the summer months what he has been teaching in the winter. That does not mean a big expensive equipment. This is practically the scheme in operation all through Germany.

These are the two types of schools that we are talking about—the continuation school and the two-year trade school for young people between fourteen and sixteen. The question is how they are to be supported. We have provided first that the local communities shall provide for half the expense of the school by a local tax, a tax that is spread like the ordinary school tax and does not in any way trench on the revenues of the present system of schools. We think the other half had better be borne by the state for a variety of reasons. In the first place, it will enable the state to exercise some general supervision over them and to make them more efficient. The experience of the world has shown that if you do not do this, it is difficult to secure uniformity. In order to standardize this work, it is important to have the state contribute a part of the expense of running the school.

Our scheme provides that the state shall provide one-half the running expense of these schools when these schools have been approved by either a state board or by some other agency devised for this purpose.

The administration of these schools is the question that has made the most trouble. For many reasons it seemed best to us to recommend that we follow the example of people who have had more experience, and provide for a local board made up of practical men from the business world, both employers and employees, with some educators. We have provided in every case that a majority of this board shall be made up of practical men, and in this way

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we feel that we will secure an administration that will make these schools do the work set out for them. The reason is that the practical nature of the work is such that to make it thoroughly efficient, it must be kept out of the hands of the old-fashioned schoolmasters.

The old drawing movement which grew out of the Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, which placed schoolmasters in charge of the drawing, has ceased to have very much relation to work. The next thing that came along the practical training of the young people was manual training, which was going to do wonders for us in an industrial way. Now everybody is talking about manual training as a cultural subject, and justly so. We think from the experience of other countries that we shall have to organize a body of men, practical men, whose only purpose is to deal with this particular problem, and not as Germany has done, learn through experience the result of having these schools run by schoolmasters, and then find it necessary to separate them from the ordinary system of schools. We provide for that reason that the local board shall be elected by the people or appointed by the president of the village or the mayor of the city, and that that board shall be made up as I have indicated, two employers of labor, two skilled employees and the local superintendent of schools, and that they shall be responsible for the administration of these schools.

The state commission, if you have a commission, should be made up in the same way. There are people who think this work might be left to the present superintendent of schools, the state superintendent. Most people, however, agree that a commission would be a better way to deal with it. It is simply following out the lines that have been followed by other nations who have succeeded. It is following the example of Wisconsin, a state that has made a beginning and is dealing with the problem in exactly the same way. They started out with the same point of view that

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this Club took, by sending a man to Germany and England and France to study the question; when he came back he recommended the same plan that we are presenting here.

We are having a lot of difficulty with the schoolmaster who thinks that in some way his prerogative is being encroached upon. The Teachers' Federation think if there is more money raised for the new type of school there will be a little less money available for teachers' salaries. I believe, however, that we are right, and I think in time other people will see that this is the right way to provide for this system of schools.

Just to recapitulate; we are proposing that we have these schools in any community that so votes. Local option shall govern. That they shall establish one or more or all of these schools if they so desire. That when they shall establish these schools, they shall provide for half the support by a local tax. A state grant shall cover the rest of the expense if the schools are efficient. We also provide for their administration through a local separate board backed by a state board of some kind. The problem, it seems to me, is very simple.

The other people who are dealing with this question are proposing that these schools be turned over to a committee of the present Board of Education. They proposed originally to raise a million dollars additional for educational purposes, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of which they permitted to be set aside for the support of these vocational schools. This will give you a little idea of the relative importance in the minds of some of these other people of the subject we are talking about. We think it is unwise and unfair to leave this question with these people. If they succeed, we think we shall not have the efficient schools that you gentlemen are interested in and that you have been advocating.

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, the last notice stated

that an endorsement of the work of the Educational Committee would be asked this evening. I will ask you if there are any resolutions supporting this report?

MR. CARRY: Mr. President, before reading the resolution, I have been asked to read the "Declaration of Principles" of the Conference Committee to which the Chairman has referred. The Conference Committee is made up of the Educational Committees of The Commercial Club, the Association of Commerce, the Hamilton Club and the Civic Federation. As I understand it, the tentative plan or bill that was sent out was misinterpreted by so many and so many erroneous ideas attributed to the Conference Committee that this Committee decided to prepare this "Declaration of Principles."

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Definition: Vocational education includes all forms of specialized education, the controlling purposes of which are to fit for useful occupations, whether in agriculture, commerce, industry or the household arts.

1. State aid is necessary to stimulate and encourage communities to carry on work in vocational education, but local communities should be permitted to initiate and should partly maintain such courses or schools.

2. The vocational schools should not compete or interfere with the present public school system, but should supplement it by providing practical instruction in vocational lines for youth between fourteen and eighteen who have left the present schools. To guard against any competition with the public schools as now organized, a special tax should be levied for their support, which, with the state grant for their support, should not be taken from the funds now provided by law for the support of the public school system.

3. The proper expenditure of state moneys for vocation-

al schools should be fully safeguarded, while at the same time the initiative in adapting measures to local conditions should be left with the local authorities. To secure these ends the general management and approval of these courses and schools should be left to a state commission, while the local initiative and direct control should be exercised by a local board composed of employers, skilled employees and educators.

4. An efficient system of vocational education requires different methods of administration, different courses of study, different qualifications of teachers, different equipment, different ways of meeting the needs of pupils and much greater flexibility in adapting means to ends than is possible under the ordinary system of public school administration. For these reasons these schools should be under a separate board of control, whether carried on in a separate building or under the same roof with a general school, so that they may be free to realize their dominant purpose of fitting for useful employment.

THE PROPOSED PLAN

We have developed a very good system of elementary schools. As Frederick Paulsen says: "We have made the old elementary school, which was often nothing but a reading school or a school for the three R's, a real educational institution for the people." We have built up a system of secondary schools, for both boys and girls, including the old-fashioned academic and the more modern technical high school, which have become a powerful factor in our social life. We have developed a system of universities, including the endowed ones and the modern State universities, which are the pride of our country. These provide an adequate preparation for life—both cultural and vocational—for the favored youth who have leisure and interest in their advanced work.

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We should supplement these schools by another type of school which, like the others, is based on the training given in the elementary school, and which has as its problem the direct training for vocational life of the youth who must leave the ordinary school at fourteen. "It will be the problem of these schools," as Paulsen says, "to build upon the elementary school, as a fundamental form of school, a new finishing educational institution, or to give to the elementary school instruction its necessary conclusion in a vocational high school, a school whose problem will be the carrying forward and making fruitful for vocational activity the general education."

SYSTEM OF SUPPLEMENTAL SCHOOLS

I. The proposed system of vocational schools should not compete or interfere with the present school system, but should supplement it by providing appropriate and helpful education for those who have left these schools, such education to be given under such conditions as will best serve those to be benefited by it, and offered only to boys and girls over fourteen years of age who have left the public schools as now organized.

II. Therefore such youth should be divided into two groups as follows:

A. Those who are compelled to leave school in order to earn a living.

B. Those whose opportunities would permit them to remain in school between the ages of 14 and 18, but who can be induced to attend school only if offered practical instruction along vocational lines.

For group "A" schools of the following type should be established:

1. Part-time vocational schools for youth employed only part of the time.

2. Vocational continuation schools (which should be

day schools) providing from 6 to 10 hours per week of instruction closely related to the occupation of the pupil and given by teachers who have practical knowledge of them; attendance to be compulsory upon persons between 14 and 18 who are not in other approved schools.

3. Voluntary continuation schools for youth over 18 years of age who wish to pursue further technical training either in day or evening schools; such schools to provide opportunity to prepare for higher schools of all sorts as well as for practical agricultural, industrial and business life, and to aim to produce not only efficient workmen but good citizens—both men and women.

For group “B” schools of the following type should be established:

1. Full-time vocational schools, undertaking in a two years’ course to prepare for apprenticeship youths too young to enter apprenticeship, but who desire such preliminary knowledge of some vocations as will readily lead to and help them in their apprenticeship.

2. Schools for both boys and girls between 14 and 16 who enter the industries without the training of an apprenticeship.

3. Schools for youth of both sexes enabling students to take good positions in commercial pursuits upon completing a two years’ course.

4. Schools for instruction in the domestic arts including sanitation, cooking, sewing, care of children and the sick, preserving fruits and vegetables, care of the dairy, etc.

5. Agricultural winter-schools for youth in the country who work on the farms in summer months, such schools to be open for five or six months and to furnish training in agriculture or, if desired, industrial and business courses. The courses should be two years in length and the instruction in technical subjects should be given by men and women trained technically and practically in agriculture, who dur-

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ing the summer months should visit the students at their home work on the farms, consulting with and advising parents on scientific and business questions and giving lectures and demonstrations on practical subjects connected with farming. The principal advantages of such a system over the ordinary agricultural departments in high schools would be the practical character of the instruction given due to the closer touch resulting between teachers, parents and pupils, both in the school and on the farm, and the recognition of the needs of boys and girls who have not qualified for the high school and who cannot devote their entire year of nine or ten months to school attendance.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

III. In order to put such a school of vocational education into effect without interfering with the present system of public schools, special local taxes should be levied and state aid should be given to each community putting this system of vocational education into effect in direct proportion to the amount expended for maintenance of such schools by each community. Care should be taken in preparing legislation to this end and to safeguard the present revenue provision for the general public schools from being affected by the establishment of any system of vocational education.

ADMINISTRATION

IV. In order to secure the keen interest and intelligent supervision of those most to be benefited by vocational education, namely, the public, employing and employed, and at the same time to preserve the unity of the public school system, a commission of vocational education should be established to have supervision over any system of vocational schools and to be selected as follows:

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *ex officio* a member of such commission.

Two members shall be employers of labor.

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Two members shall be skilled industrial, commercial or agricultural employees.

Two members shall be experienced in educational work.

All members except the Superintendent of Public Instruction shall be appointed by the Governor, provided that at least one of the members upon this commission shall be representative of the agricultural interests of the State.

In all communities adopting vocational education the supervision of vocational schools should be exercised by a local board, made up as follows:

The local Superintendent of Schools *ex officio* member of the Board.

Two members who are employers of labor.

Two members who are employees skilled in industrial, commercial or agricultural pursuits.

Two members who are experienced in educational work.

Provided, that in any community lying within or bordering upon large agricultural territory one or more members of such local Board of vocational education shall be representative of the agricultural interests of such territory.

LOCAL OPTION

V. Such vocational schools should be introduced only when the majority of the legal voters of a city, village, or township, as the case may be, vote for their establishment; and the various communities should have the power to introduce any and all of these schools as they may desire to the end that the especial needs of the various communities may be met and satisfied.

MR. CARRY: That is the "Declaration of Principles," Mr. President. The resolution is:

Resolved, That we approve, as a basis for legislation for the establishing of a system of vocational schools in Illinois, the "Principles and Plan of a Proposed Law" prepared by the Educational Committee.

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PRESIDENT CARR: You have heard the resolution. Is it seconded?

(Resolution was duly seconded.)

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, the resolution has been made and seconded. Are there any questions anyone wishes to ask?

MR. POND: I wish to speak particularly with reference to the relation of the proposed schools to the existing educational system. I think I may say, without qualification that every member of the Educational Committee came to the question with an open mind. If we had any prejudice at all, it was a presumption that a school was a school and a teacher was a teacher, and that the new type of school would naturally be an integral part of the existing system and under the same management.

Your committee has been investigating the question for a number of months, mounting now into years, and has unanimously come to the belief that it will be wiser to keep these schools under a separate organization at least for a series of years. And our frank reason for this conclusion is that we distrust the capacity of the staff of the present schools to operate the new type properly. I do not mean this in harsh criticism; I mean simply to raise a question of everyday psychology.

The ordinary school teacher is a person who has come up through the schools, has gone directly from school to teaching, has had a narrow experience in the outside world. We are all affected by our contacts; in fact, we are largely the result of our contacts. The average teacher has experienced a certain class of contacts and a narrow range of contacts and knows very little about the detail of the business world and the manufacturing world, as men of affairs know these details and the requirements. They have developed a system of education based upon their education. We frankly doubt whether those in charge of the present

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educational system can get the point of view that we desire or can develop a suitable methodology even if they see our aim. The textbook of to-day is not the textbook of to-morrow. Our school teachers tend to rely on a series of books and to develop a series of methods and to hold to those books and those methods long after the facts of life in a changing world have taken on a new phase. It is because of our feeling that the teachers naturally will come to this work in this way that we feel that these schools will be successful in proportion as they are handled and controlled by people coming fresh from the business and industrial world, people who bring to this school management suggestions and changes shot through with the ideas of the actual living business world.

PRESIDENT CARR: Any other remarks on the resolution? (The resolution unanimously prevailed.)

PRESIDENT CARR: The next and final report of the evening is from the Committee on the Plan of Chicago. Many members have asked questions regarding the progress of that great work of The Commercial Club, and with the idea of enlightening those gentlemen we arranged for a report from the committee, and I will ask Mr. Edward B. Butler, the Chairman of the Plan Committee, to favor us with a report.

MR. BUTLER: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It was the thought of the Committee on the Plan of Chicago that the best report that could be made at this time would be a stereopticon lecture that would bring the work of the Plan down to date, and Mr. Walter D. Moody, Managing Director of the Chicago Plan Commission, has consented to deliver that lecture.

Mr. Moody at great personal sacrifice has been devoting his time exclusively to the work of this Plan. He has been the strong right arm of Mr. Wacker in the tireless campaign which Mr. Wacker as Chairman of the Plan Commission

has been conducting for the past three years, and I am sure that we will all be glad to hear Mr. Moody, although the hour is later than I had calculated upon. Mr. Carr and I had agreed that we would get started at nine o'clock, but the hour is later. Gentlemen, I am permitted by the Chairman to introduce to you Mr. Walter D. Moody.

MR. MOODY. Mr. President and Gentlemen: In behalf of Chairman Wacker and the Chicago Plan Commission I desire to express appreciation for the opportunity you have extended to me to acquaint you with the work of the Plan of Chicago now going forward under the direction of the Commission. At the very outset I desire to speak a word concerning Mr. Butler's Committee and the splendid support given our plan work through its meritorious services and the maintenance of quarters and the architectural staff in the Railway Exchange Building, without the aid of which our Commission work would have been most seriously crippled and retarded. I am sure it will be interesting to you to learn that Mr. Wacker and I have delivered nearly two hundred lectures in all parts of the city and before all sorts of organizations.

When Mr. Butler invited me to appear here this evening I had hoped the opportunity might allow for the regular lecture, because I felt that you gentlemen who are so generously supporting plan work and who have given so much of time, thought and money to this work for the past number of years, were entitled to know in exactly what manner we are appealing to the people to support the Plan of Chicago and to reward your efforts in their behalf.

However, on account of the lateness of the hour I shall eliminate a number of views and hurry through or pass much of the material used in the regular lecture and confine my remarks principally to the Twelfth Street, Michigan Avenue and Lake Front cases. Suffice it to say that in our regular lecture work we present the Plan of Chicago from

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the standpoint of the conditions which make city planning necessary in large cities in this country; what inspired the inception of the Plan of Chicago; work of the Commercial Club upon the Plan; appointment of the Chicago Plan Commission; the advantages gained through a proper city plan, and the possibilities before Chicago if the Plan of Chicago is carried into execution.

Our lectures are illustrated with more than one hundred and twenty-five beautiful stereopticon views of the Plan, and photographs taken of actual conditions existing throughout the city, shown in contrast to what may be realized, and a large number of foreign views, showing what has been accomplished in Europe in city planning, especially in the beautification of waterways and street systems. We present many other interesting features in connection with our educational propaganda in order that the people may appreciate the nature of our work and come to realize the fact that in American cities the ballot box must go before the builder.

Gentlemen, I do not know how it impresses you, but to me—I was not born in this city and I feel that I have lost a great thing that I was not—when I see old men in this city who can date their residence back to the time when there was nothing but a little hamlet here, when I consider that this city has grown from that little hamlet in seventy-five years, within the lives of some of our grandparents still living, and become the fourth city in all the world in that short time, to me that is one of the greatest wonders in all the world.

The fact of our astounding growth in so short a time is prophetic of the future. In 1845 we had here twelve thousand people; a small city, with cows grazing peacefully about in the present vicinity of Marshall Field & Company's wholesale house in the loop district.

In 1861, fifty-two years ago, at the beginning of the Civil

War, we were a city of one hundred and sixty thousand people, rapidly making some of the leading eastern cities sit up and take notice.

“Coming events cast their shadows before.” None can doubt this in the position of Chicago. The great future of this city is absolutely unbelievable; no one can begin to estimate what the future expansion will be. Note these marvelous advantages: Within a distance of five hundred miles, entirely encircling the City of Chicago, there are now fifty-three million people, more than half of the entire population of the United States. Fifty-three millions of people can get on board the train after dinner in their home cities within this five hundred mile zone and get off for breakfast in Chicago the next morning. Such an advantage does not accrue to any city on the face of the earth. Coupled with that fact, what are the three important factors that contribute to the inevitable greatness of Chicago, or any city? First: The richness of the natural resources, in great abundance and close at hand. The latter is of the greatest importance. We have in the northern territory coal, iron and lumber in abundance. The great new wheat belt through Canada. The great agricultural zone through Iowa and Illinois. Coal in Illinois in abundance; fruit and vegetable products in Michigan, clay and cement substances in great quantities almost under our own doormat. In the matter of natural resources close at hand Chicago is singularly blessed.

The second important factor is the richness of the territory into which we ship our products. Chicago rests at the top of the Mississippi Valley, the richest valley in all the world, excepting, possibly, Manchuria. A territory capable of housing one hundred millions of people.

The third and most important factor of all is railroad supremacy. We have terminating in Chicago twenty-five trunk lines. More than one hundred thousand miles of

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steel highways find their way from the uttermost ends of the country into the city of Chicago. There is eighteen times more trackage within the city limits of Chicago than there is in the city of New York. Such railroad advantage does not exist in any city of the world, to say nothing of our great lake and river transportation. The words of the poet proclaim that "Westward the course of empire takes its way," ever and ever westward.

In the early times the center of commerce and people was in Asiatic Europe; then it came down through Europe and across the water to America, and is constantly moving west. The history of old world countries shows that the inland city eventually becomes the metropolis. The center of population in the United States is about one hundred and twenty-five miles south of Chicago in Indiana. In the face of these facts who can deny that eventually Chicago will become the metropolis of these United States? There is no question about that in my mind whatever. I might go on with facts to support that. It is not a question of five years this way or that, but just as sure as there is a rising and a setting sun sooner or later Chicago will become the center and the metropolis of this country. Some people have stated that it would be the metropolis of the world in fifty years.

Mr. Hill, the great railroad magnate and empire builder, a man whose judgment we all rely upon, has said that when the Pacific Coast has twenty millions of people the city of Chicago will have become the metropolis of the world. There are about five million people on the Pacific Coast to-day. Seattle, a city of three hundred thousand people, was little more than a flag station thirty years ago. Spokane, a city of one hundred and twenty-five thousand people, is of still later birth. Oklahoma City, a palatial city of one hundred thousand people, twenty years ago was a rendezvous for thieves, thugs and train robbers. Los Angeles has also had a marvelous growth, and when we contemplate the

rapid growth of other cities we begin to realize how prophetic Mr. Hill's statement is.

And I recall that a member of the British Embassy, himself a Londoner, making his first trip to the city of Chicago two or three years ago, said in a public address that in his opinion this city would be the metropolis of the world in forty years. He went ten better than anyone around this neighborhood has prophesied. But as to that mere bigness does not mean greatness. Something more, vastly more, must be added of a nature proposed in the Plan of Chicago.

When we first began to show the Plan of Chicago—the attractiveness and advantages of the old world cities,—comparing Paris to Chicago, people who had not traveled said, “Why, your position is ridiculous; you cannot get the people who go to Paris to come to Chicago. They would not come here and spend their money.” Well, we all know how they are going to Berlin since they have begun to improve that city, and we all know that some of the world travelers would come to Chicago if we capitalize our luxuries here and make our city as attractive as we can make it under this plan. That requires no argument; but, gentlemen, I am not contrasting Chicago's advantages now with the cities of Europe. Think what can be made to accrue to Chicago if we will only capitalize our luxuries and attract to this city the people of the great empires of our own country to the West, the Southwest and the Northwest, containing those millions of people with millions of wealth, who now come to Chicago—and I do not talk this way when I am talking away from home, but I am talking now to Chicago people—they come here now with that great wealth and stop over a day or two and then go on to New York City and spend it in bulk there. We all know that.

In talking to the people we explain that we can make Chicago what it ought to be, and realize the major part of this work in our day and time if we will simply set ourselves

to the work with will and determination. There is no question about that. Here with a united force, if we can become enthused all down the line and start the old-time spirit of Chicago, we can put this thing through with a rush like an old-fashioned Rugby football game. There is no question about that, and the sooner we begin to do it the sooner the benefits will accrue to the people of this whole city.

Now taking up the Plan itself, what is known in plan parlance as the quadrangle is bounded by Twelfth Street, Michigan Avenue, Chicago Avenue and Halsted Street. At the center of the western boundary, at Congress and Halsted Streets, is the proposed civic center, and radiating from the civic center in every direction are the present and proposed diagonal thoroughfares. Really, as I said to some gentlemen the other day, a ten-year-old school boy could study that west side street plan for half an hour and realize perfectly its entire sanity. These four streets which form the quadrangle, it is believed, are destined to bear the heaviest traffic of any four streets in this city. These are to be widened and to be improved. They form the foundation of the entire street circulatory system. And then, radiating from the center of the western zone in perfect order, are the time-saving diagonal thoroughfares which mean so much in saving the time of the people in a great city, and which are so abundant, as we have observed, in the cities of Europe.

The idea and the advantage of this radial street system is not only to enable the people to easily and quickly go to and from the center of the city from every outlying point, but it is to enable them to crisscross to and from any point in any section of the city by means of the diagonal streets with the least possible loss of time.

I want to touch upon another point in connection with the value of this proposed radial street system, and one which is a very important matter to Chicago, and that is the large number of important outlying centers in our city.

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I drove all around them on a tour of inspection last summer and I was literally astounded to see how thriving and how remarkably busy some of those outlying centers were. This city is particularly fortunate in that respect. That is the natural sort of growth that should develop in every great city. By means of this radial street system these outlying centers would each be properly connected one with the other and all with the center. Thus each separate center will be given every possible advantage to grow and expand, and eventually they will unite the whole in one grand central city. We will then no longer have a disjointed, haphazard group of overgrown villages as at present.

Our downtown district is one of the most marvelous commercial centers—the most marvelous, possibly, in the whole world. We all realize the importance of our great central district and no matter what may develop in any other section the downtown district will always remain the teeming point of activity. There is no question about that. But by expanding, and giving the outlying sections their just advantage, the center will not be menaced in any way; it will be enhanced. That is a natural result which cannot be denied. Our radial street plan proposes advantages to the outlying centers and cements the whole city.

In studying the street system of the Plan of Chicago it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the value of the radial street system and its very important relationship to the quadrangle upon which work has been begun. The quadrangle is bounded by Twelfth Street, Michigan Avenue, Halsted Street and Chicago Avenue.

Commencing plan work with the development of the quadrangle—the foundation of the radial street system—the first work of the Plan Commission was the widening of Twelfth Street. An ordinance for this improvement was adopted by the City Council in April, 1911. This ordinance provides for widening Twelfth Street by taking forty-two

feet from the south side of the street between Ashland Avenue and Canal Street and fifty two feet between Canal Street and Michigan Avenue.

People talked about the Plan of Chicago as a rich man's scheme. For that reason Twelfth Street, in the most wretched, squalid section of the entire city, was chosen as the first work of the Commission. This thoroughfare is the only through artery without a jog or interruption between Harrison and Twenty-second Streets. It is an important business artery to-day. Teamsters tell us that they avoid Twelfth Street every day and use other streets at a loss of time and expense to their employers because of the intolerable conditions there. It is only sixty-six feet wide. If you drive up that street and encounter a passing street car and a vehicle stationary at the curb, you are obliged to stop until the street car passes in order to proceed. There are about nine and a half feet between the street car step and the curbing on what is destined to be one of the most important streets in the city of Chicago. That is another reason why we took up Twelfth Street first. Another and most important reason was in connection with the development of the railroad properties. It was hoped that Twelfth Street would become the terminal axis, a focal point for all railroad terminals, with the possible exception of the North Western. We hoped that we could induce the railroads to consider Twelfth Street, and we are still hoping that we may realize our plan in that particular. In this rehabilitation of railroad terminals, as identified with Twelfth Street, it is planned to restore much property in the center of the city now occupied by the railroads for intensive commercial development.

In our regular lecture we tell the people the necessity for this improvement and what the plan for Twelfth Street is, but you are all familiar with the subject, and I will only

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briefly outline to you the work of the Commission in successfully developing this undertaking.

When the Chicago Plan Commission began work, there was a sullen, crystallized opposition on all sides against the improvement. The original plan for the improvement of Twelfth Street proposed a park strip in the center. The street was to be boulevarded, but we found the people did not want a boulevard and that feature was eliminated. It is odd, but when you mention boulevards in Chicago you present a horned beast with a forked tongue. But in Europe, as we all know, boulevarded streets are thought very much of. They are the best streets, and they are business streets, but perhaps that is an impracticable combination for Chicago. It is proposed simply to make Twelfth Street a fine, broad, practical business artery in every way. That idea appealed to the people there and allayed much opposition.

In this connection I might say that while the Plan of Chicago is not a hard and fast plan, the main vertebra of the plan should stand, the suggestive features should be carried out, and while nothing should be allowed at any time—now or in the future—to interfere with or disturb the plan in general, minor changes will undoubtedly have to be made in the carrying out of any set phase of the plan.

It was necessary to hold "town" meetings and to make a house to house canvass of the entire district. In all, nearly two hundred conferences have been held by the officer of the Commission in connection with the Twelfth Street case alone. After a great deal of hard work, the Commission was able to secure enough signatures to a favorable petition to prevent the filing of a majority protest with the Board of Local Improvements when the public hearing was held in March, 1911. Such a protest would have caused a year's delay.

Some of the objections urged by agitators and those opposed to the plan, which we had to overcome, were that

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under the law the zone of assessment could only be spread two blocks on either side of Twelfth Street paralleling the improvement; that the amount of square footage in that zone would necessitate an assessment of Seventy-nine Dollars a front foot; that the cost of the improvement would be ten or fifteen million dollars, and that there would be no public benefit.

However, the zone of assessment as decided upon by the court commissioners extends, approximately, from the lake to Fortieth Avenue and from Twenty-second Street to Harrison Street, east of the Chicago river, extending north to Madison Street. There are approximately forty thousand pieces of property in that zone, so that absolutely no individual assessment will be burdensome. The cost of the improvement has been estimated as approximately three million dollars for land and buildings. A public benefit of fifty per cent., or One Million Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars has been awarded, and a bond issue for that amount carried at the last election with nearly twenty-five thousand majority. The Sanitary District was induced to appropriate Two Hundred and Forty Thousand Dollars or one-half the cost of constructing the new Twelfth Street bridge, which is to be ninety feet wide. The balance of the cost will be paid by the city out of the recent bridge bond issue.

From a decided negative the attitude of the people in that entire section has changed to a positive one. They are all now eagerly awaiting the condemnation suit, which it is expected will be tried early next spring. Under the law no property can be taken for the improvement until every dollar of condemnation money has been paid, so that as soon as the suit has been tried and damage paid bonds can be issued for the city's share of the cost and actual construction work started.

It will be difficult for you, gentlemen, to appreciate the

extent and sort of work that was necessary to bring the Twelfth Street case to a point where an ordinance was successfully passed. It must be remembered that Twelfth Street as it exists to-day is not only a squalid thoroughfare and a disgrace to the city—the importance of the development of which most people fail to appreciate—but also that literally thousands of people in other sections of the city have little or no knowledge of the existence of Twelfth Street at all. On account of these conditions it may be considered that the favorable vote on the bond issue for that improvement by all the people was a great victory.

An amusing side light on the situation may be noted in the attitude of an objector to this improvement in a public hearing. On that occasion, a man arose and with a dramatic wave of his hands—he was not even a property owner; he was a long-haired proselyte of sensationalism who could not get a chance to talk anywhere else except in a public hearing—cried out: “How are you going to beautify Chicago by widening Twelfth Street?” That man had no more idea of the tremendous importance of the Plan of Chicago, and the relationship of the widening of Twelfth Street to that plan, than the man in the moon. That man’s attitude was indicative of many people on the subject. And thus in going among the people in our educational work, with infinite care and patience we explained the general plan and the importance and necessity of this first work. We have tried to make them realize that the Plan entire is not a work that can be accomplished in a day or a year. We show them that there is nothing haphazard about it; that everything is planned to interlink and interlace every important feature with every other important feature. We try to inspire them with a vision of the new Twelfth Street with the great Elmhurst Forest Preserve at the western terminus and the Field Museum at the lake front terminus. We show them the continuity of the entire scheme and appeal to their

civic patriotism by asking them to put their citizenship ahead of their location. We explain that we do not have a plan for the west side, or the north side, or the south side, but that the Plan of Chicago is an all Chicago Plan and that a benefit to one is a benefit to all. When we talk on the west side, we ask the West Sider to regard the Twelfth Street improvement first as Chicagoans and second as West Siders. We appeal to them that there is nothing in the nature of a "local issue" regarding any phase of the Plan of Chicago, and that unless we can secure an intelligent and united citizenship back of our work we will be unable to do these things which are planned in the interests of all the people. I might say that our audiences have been, without exception, responsive and appreciative.

After the Council adopted the Twelfth Street improvement ordinance, the Commission next took up the Michigan Avenue connecting link. Many meetings of the Executive Committee were held to determine which plan should be advocated. The Plan of Chicago proposed to take all of the property between Michigan Avenue and Beaubien Court, and to make Pine Street two hundred and sixteen feet wide north of the river.

There was, however, intense opposition to this plan among property owners. Eighteen public hearings on it had been scheduled by the Board of Local Improvements and abandoned. Realizing this, and also the fact that high-grade business property is at a premium in the loop, the Commission felt that a proper amount of property should be left on the east side of Michigan Avenue. It was also believed that from the standpoint of economy and expediency some modification of the original plan would be advisable.

Six modifications of the original plan were studied, and in July, 1911, what is known as Plan No. 3 was adopted by the Commission as harmonizing all objections, solving all problems and being possible of execution. This provides

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for the widening and projection of Michigan Avenue on the two-level plan. Michigan Avenue is to be widened to one hundred and thirty feet from Randolph Street to the river. Pine Street is to be widened to one hundred and forty-one feet from the river to Chicago Avenue. The two streets are to be connected by a double-deck bascule bridge. The upper level will extend from building line to building line. The structural elevation will begin at Lake Street and grade gently up to South Water Street, where it will be sixteen feet above the present street level, continuing at that height to Indiana Street, where it will gently descend to Ohio Street.

Michigan Avenue to-day, between Twelfth and Randolph Streets, is perhaps the most magnificent thoroughfare of any city in the world. That portion of the street has practically created itself within the past ten years. The only reason this splendid development stopped at Randolph Street was because of the squalid extension of that street to the north. When the connecting link has been completed, that development will undoubtedly continue on to Chicago Avenue.

What does it mean to a city to have a great thoroughfare such as Michigan Avenue is destined to become? What do these great arteries mean to the cities of the world? It means an advantage to any city to possess streets such as the Champs Elysees in Paris, Unter den Linden in Berlin, the Ringstrasse in Vienna, Picadilly in London and Fifth Avenue in New York. The names of those thoroughfares are household words the world over, and add as much to lure travelers to these cities as anything in them.

In our lecture we tell the people of the necessity for the improvement of Michigan Avenue on the two-level plan, owing to the enormous traffic in that zone, unequaled in the world, and the fact that the Rush Street bridge traffic is sixteen per cent. greater than that of London bridge, long

known as the most congested vehicle bridge in the world. We go into many other details that are not necessary to repeat to you gentlemen who originated the Plan of Chicago.

Plan No. 3 was recommended by the Commission to the Board of Local Improvements in July, 1911, at which time the Board voted to abandon all pending proceedings and to start anew by ordering an estimate prepared of the cost of Plan No. 3. Many obstacles and obstructions have been placed in the way of the successful realization of this plan, and many unforeseen contingencies concerning preliminary questions of jurisdiction, legality and other complications have arisen. Suffice it to say that all have been satisfactorily disposed of, after much hard work and more than three hundred conferences, and it is now confidently expected that a final public hearing on Plan No. 3 will be held by the Board of Local Improvements early this summer and an ordinance covering the improvement introduced in the City Council immediately thereafter.

In exploiting the Plan of Chicago in public we earnestly appeal to the people in all sections of the city not to regard the Michigan Avenue improvement as a local issue. We find in our field work that there is a great deal of sectional prejudice and that there is a very strong feeling against so-called "downtown improvement." Our aim, as I have stated in explaining our Twelfth Street work, is to break down this sectional feeling and unite the people in a spirit of community patriotism. We discuss every phase of the work very candidly. The Michigan Avenue improvement and the reason for this improvement are gone into very thoroughly, and I have no hesitancy in saying that it is my certain belief that when the Michigan Avenue case is presented to the Council an ordinance will be passed without serious difficulty. And I am equally of the belief that this improvement will not suffer when the matter of a bond issue

is presented to the people for that portion of the cost which may be determined as a public benefit.

Another phase of the Plan of Chicago work upon which good progress has been made is the Lake Front Park improvement. Under that plan it is proposed to cut down that row of old buildings and to open Park Row back to Twelfth Street. The Illinois Central Station will come down and a new one is to be erected at Indiana Avenue and Twelfth Street. The Illinois Central people have tentatively agreed to build their new station to conform architecturally to the lines of the new Field Museum.

The new Field Museum building will be placed immediately east of the present Illinois Central Station site on ground that is now being made. The United States Government has awarded the South Park Commission the right to build the breakwater and fill in the necessary submerged area to contain this magnificent building. The marble for the exterior is being quarried in Georgia; much of it has been paid for and is stored awaiting commencement on the erection of the building. The work is being pushed as rapidly as possible.

I want to say a word about placing the Field Museum downtown. We all remember the difficulties encountered before any progress could be made with that proposition until recently. Placing the Field Museum centrally is what has been termed "capitalizing a city's luxuries," as they do it in Europe. What does that mean to a city? The Field Museum is now far out on the south side. Half of our people do not know where it is. One of the most remarkable educational institutions of its kind in the world. Some authorities say it ranks favorably with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D. C., and the great British Museum in London, but there it is, out in Jackson Park, where the attendance is but one-twentieth that of the Art Institute. It is of vastly more worth than the Art Institute

to our people, especially our children, from an educational standpoint. But it takes the best part of the day to get to it and two or three car fares from some sections of the city. It is finally to be located downtown where everybody can reach it easily for a five cent fare. What does a central location mean to strangers within our gates? A stranger by means of a guidebook attempts to find out something about the Field Museum. Someone with a hazy idea tells him that it is away down on the south side somewhere and he is directed to start out Michigan Avenue, but the stranger gives up in despair and leaves Chicago missing one of its chief attractions—an institution of the sort that makes a city famous. Who loses? The stranger its advantages and the city the advertisement. It means much to any city to have its famous places talked about by its visitors.

The Field Museum will face Grant Park to the north, at the entrance of the proposed outer lake front parkway, at the eastern terminal of the widened Twelfth Street. You see the continuity of purpose in this entire scheme.

Under this plan for the parkways and drive, the outer parkway is to be three hundred to four hundred feet wide, and will extend five miles along lake shore from Grant Park to Jackson Park. Intervened by a lagoon approximately seven hundred feet wide, will be an outer parkway five miles long, and half a mile wide. Its creation will add fifteen hundred acres to our present total park area, which is about forty-four hundred acres. Social experts all agree without exception that in order to promote health and good order in any city there should be one acre of park space to each one hundred people. In the city of Chicago there is one acre to each seven hundred and eighty people, and in the closely congested districts one acre to every five thousand people. We are the eighth city, I believe, in this country in the amount of total park area. We are thirty-seventh in point of congestion. If we had the park area in the city

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of Chicago necessary to conform to social standards we would have twenty-three thousand acres. Berlin is the only large city, I believe, that conforms exactly to the proper standard. I love to talk about Berlin because it seems to me that the people of Germany certainly do know how to safeguard the health of their people. They realize that is their greatest asset.

How do we propose to create the outer parkway? By utilizing Chicago's waste material. Mr. Wacker often remarks, and it is an argument well worth heeding, that we expended sixty million dollars in digging the drainage canal to clarify the polluted waters of Lake Michigan to enable Chicago to have clear drinking water, and that it is a crime to permit the dumping of two million cubic yards of the city's waste material into the lake, much of which is dumped inside of the lawful eight mile limit, polluting our water that we expended sixty million dollars to clarify, Isn't that a fine proposition? With our extravagance characteristic of this country we are wasting valuable material. That is the worst part of it. That can all be utilized, together with the street sweepings, ashes, cinders, old bricks and mortar, four million cubic yards of which we have every year, based on last year's statistics. That vast amount of waste material can be utilized for this park and it will create one hundred acres per year without costing the taxpayers any more than it costs the city of Chicago to dispose of it under present conditions. What better opportunity was ever offered whereby something for nothing could be had? Our city dumps are becoming rapidly filled and in time it will be necessary to go farther out. We will then be obliged to haul this waste material by rail at an enormous expense. If the United States government grants the request of the South Park Commission to build the breakwaters from Grant Park to Sixty-seventh Street and to fill in the submerged area as described, work can begin on this park at once.

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It will mean the greatest thing for the people of Chicago that was ever accomplished for the people of any city on earth. There is no question about that whatever; absolutely none. At once and for all time Chicago will reclaim five more miles of its lake front, thus adding a total of about twelve miles out of twenty-one. Chicago will then possess the most imposing water front of any city in the world.

In conclusion, I merely want to say that I often look at this city struggling for expansion, hampered in its growth by the bonds of personal selfishness and sectional prejudice. Those lines must be wiped out. We must come together, centralize and vitalize our energies and pour them through one central channel for the good of all Chicago, if the great Plan of Chicago is ever to be realized.

PRESIDENT CARR: The meeting stands adjourned.

TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH REGULAR MEETING

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1913

Open Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

The Department of the Interior

Hon. Walter L. Fisher

Ex-Secretary, The Department of the Interior

PRESIDENT CARR: Guests and Members of the Commercial Club: I value the great privilege, on behalf of their friends gathered here this evening, to extend to Mr. Walter L. Fisher and Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, a most cordial and sincere welcome home.

Esteem and confidence of one's fellow-men, and especially of friends in the community in which a man lives, is more highly to be prized than anything this world has to offer; and surely the friends whom we are welcoming home this evening have earned a full measure of appreciation and respect.

It has been the great privilege of the Commercial Club, in the past, to receive on many occasions, citizens of Chicago, signally honored by the nation; and on June 5, 1909, it was our good fortune to give a dinner in honor of Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, then Secretary of the Treasury, and we recall with pleasure his delightful address on that occasion. Tonight we are especially favored in having the former Secretary of the Interior as the guest of honor and the speaker of the evening.

An effort was made to induce him to appear before the Club last year, but pressure of official duties made it impossible for him to accept.

His appointment did much to instil confidence in the conduct of the Department of the Interior in the last administration. His record as Secretary of that Department was notable, commanding universal admiration and respect from all having the interest of their country at heart, just as his record in Chicago commanded the universal respect of all those interested in the welfare of this city.

The Interior Department is one of the biggest jobs in America, and to have so far mastered its problems as did our fellow-citizen, within the comparatively short time he was in Washington, is indeed a record. Our guest of honor gained the confidence of those wishing to engage in the legitimate development of our national resources, and at the same time, he earned the confidence of all wishing to maintain the heritage of the people from the hands of those whose primary object was exploitation of national resources.

For the first time in the history of the Department of the Interior, there is in force a complete set of regulations governing the development of water power on the public domain.

The most important characteristic of the Conservation Movement should be an affirmative and progressive constructiveness, and our guest was able to demonstrate possibilities along these lines, by establishing the rights of the government in the whole water power question, as illustrated by results in Alabama and California, and by the contract recently made between the Great Falls Power Company and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad regarding the electrification of 450 miles of the St. Paul System. This contract marks an epoch in the history of the country.

Not only are the government rights satisfactorily protected during the life of the grant, but the Power and the Railroad Companies are entirely satisfied.

The President of the Power Company has stated that the Secretary gave every consideration to the needs of the

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companies; that the grant conferred the right of way for fifty years over public lands for reasonable compensation to the government under reasonable conditions, which provide for compliance on the part of the company, with stated regulations covering business of the kind in which the company is engaged.

The President of the Railroad Company has stated that in his opinion a greater step forward in the conservation of the country's resources has been made within the last two years than by any previous administration.

In short, the policy has been constructive conservation as well as reservation, and this must appeal to all men having any knowledge or interest in commerce.

I shall not encroach further upon the time of the speaker of the evening, save to tell you of a little story regarding him which came to me a few weeks ago.

Many of you know of Mr. Fisher's reputation as a cross-examiner, and this story indicates the reputation he has achieved as a subject for cross-examination.

You will recall that an attack was made on him from certain sources regarding his treatment of the Osage Indian lands. While he was being cross-examined by the attorney for these lands, a newspaper reporter came out of the room and was asked, "How is the Secretary getting along under his cross-examination?" In true reportorial style the answer was given, "It seems to me that every time the attorney cross-examining him opens his mouth, the Secretary proceeds to knock his teeth down his throat."

Gentlemen, it affords me great pleasure to present our friend, Mr. Walter L. Fisher.

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HONORABLE WALTER L. FISHER

HONORABLE WALTER L. FISHER: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Commercial Club: I shall not attempt

to put in words my appreciation of the honor you have shown me in making me your guest this evening. I appreciate it more than I can tell, and I shall not undertake to make anything more than the briefest statement.

When I was asked to come from Washington to talk about the work of the Department of the Interior it seemed to me an easy task. I thought that from the mass of material that was available it would be comparatively easy for me to select that which would describe the Department and its work, and yet leave me quite sufficient liberty to choose and pick. I am confronted not with a paucity of material but with the precise opposite. When I boarded the railroad train yesterday noon I found my first opportunity to make any preparation for this address. I had previously explained to your President that it would have to be entirely extemporaneous. When I found what my assistants had gathered for my use in the preparation of this address, I concluded that out of the material, that seemed to aggregate a ton, it was going to be utterly impossible for me to select anything that would really describe the work of the Department without running the risk of going so far afield on individual features that I would not give you a complete picture of the whole. I had previously arranged with Mr. Blanchard of the Reclamation service to come with me and to bring with him some illustrations of the scope and work of the Department that I thought would perhaps bring it home to you more clearly than anything I could say. On carefully considering the matter, I concluded that the only safe thing to do would be to combine two methods, first reading to you a very brief statement of the work of the Department and some of the salient points, and then asking Mr. Blanchard to put his pictures on the screen, permitting me to interrupt him as occasion might arise to say a few words, but letting the pictures largely tell their own story; and I am going to follow that course. The remarks that I

shall read you will be so nearly extemporaneous that, although it is contrary to my custom, as you know, to read from a manuscript, I think you will excuse me on this occasion. The truth of the matter is that they are so nearly extemporaneous that the dictation was only finished at noon to-day here.

I shall not attempt to put in words my appreciation of the honor you have paid me in asking me to be your guest to-night. It is a welcome home of which I am proud and with which I am deeply touched. I am delighted at the opportunity to renew warm friendships and old associations which I have sadly missed during the past two years, although it was a little difficult to get very homesick in Washington with three members of the Cabinet and two assistant secretaries all from the 21st Ward. The duties of the Secretary of the Interior are sufficiently numerous to leave little time for vain regrets, but they have not been able to drive from my thoughts either the people or the problems of Chicago. I am coming home with a clearer appreciation of all that is interesting in this wonderful city and with a greater pride in its achievements and a surer hope of its future. While I acknowledge and appreciate your kindly compliment, I recognize that there is an obligation on me to render some account of my brief stewardship of that Department of the Government which President Taft said "in the problems of administration included within its jurisdiction presents more difficult questions than any other" It is violating no confidence, however, to say that when that statement of the President's message was read before the Cabinet my friend and fellow Chicagoan, the Secretary of the Treasury, mildly demurred and asked that before the prize for trouble was awarded, the claims of his Department should receive consideration. But the reputation of the Department of the Interior as "the trouble portfolio" is so firmly established in Washington that no

one seriously questions its bad pre-eminence. Certainly its claims were never stronger than when I took office. If I have been able to transmit it to my successor with some of its evil reputation gone, I can claim to have accomplished something in the past two years.

In spite of the notoriety which some of its affairs have had, the country as a whole really understands very imperfectly the scope and importance of the Department of the Interior. It is generally understood that it has something to do with the public lands, and that in some way Alaska falls within its jurisdiction; but I have found many intelligent people who express surprise that the Patent Office and the Pension Office are in the Department of the Interior; that it administers the immense property and personal funds of the Indian; that it carries on the huge engineering projects of the Reclamation Service; that the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines are its agencies; that it administers the national parks and monuments, and directs the Bureau of Education; that Hawaii as well as Alaska is under its jurisdiction, and that it supervises such unconsidered trifles as the Capitol building and grounds, the Government Hospital for the Insane, Freedmen's Hospital, Howard University, and the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. I have always regarded as the apex of this incongruous pyramid the Maritime Canal Company, of Nicaragua, which by solemn act of Congress is required to make its perfunctory annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, who with equal solemnity transmits the document to Congress.

During the past two years in the course of my official duties I have been called upon to make trips to Hawaii, Alaska and Panama, all on business of the Department; including trips to local land offices, reclamation projects, Indian reservations and National Parks, I have covered nearly forty thousand miles in two years, which I am told, is easily the record for the Secretary of the Interior. I shall

not undertake this evening, however, anything more ambitious than a very informal and cursory account of this stupendous machine, and, with the assistance of my friend Blanchard, of the Reclamation Service, to supply what I may call a bird's-eye view of its operations. My chief interest in going to Washington was in what I like to call "constructive conservation." Some day I hope to find the time to present my views on that subject in a manner impossible to-night. The report that I have to make now is that I have accomplished less than I hoped, but more than I expected.

Nothing but the kind insistence of my friend, your President, has given me the courage to undertake an extemporaneous description of the Department of the Interior. I shall not dwell upon the immense administrative detail of the Department, nor upon the magnitude and difficulty of its work as guardian of the public domain and of the nation's Indian wards,—the frauds detected and prevented, the lands and moneys recovered.

The routine legislative work alone is astonishing, even to those who have a general knowledge of the Department. The extent to which bills affecting it are introduced in Congress is indicated by the fact that many more than a thousand written reports on pending legislation were made to the last Congress, and the Secretary and his assistants or Bureau chiefs attended many extended hearings before Congressional Committees.

I shall not discuss the Patent Office, for you know what it is, and it gives the Secretary of the Interior comparatively little trouble. Its decisions and procedure are so directed and controlled by statute that it constitutes almost an independent bureau. I am not sure that this is altogether wise, and I have urged that it should be included in the Department of Commerce and Labor where its administration could be more closely supervised by a Cabinet officer and where its relations with the commercial interests of the

country would be more clearly understood and more effectively promoted. It would certainly be to the advantage of the business interests of this country if a United States patent constituted a sure muniment of title and not merely a "license to begin a lawsuit."

The Pension Office brings more numerous and more important duties upon the Secretary of the Interior, but I shall not stop to discuss them to-night. Some time you may ask Secretary MacVeagh why the Treasury Department should not take over this huge disbursing agency for Federal funds. My own opinion is that the real function of the Department of the Interior should be the administration and disposition of the lands and natural resources that are held directly or in trust by the Nation, and it is to the bureaus that carry on this function that I propose to direct attention. They are surely enough to keep one Cabinet officer busy, and they offer more than enough material for a single evening's speech. It requires an average of about twenty thousand employees to carry on these functions, the number depending largely upon the current operations of the Reclamation Service and the Office of Indian Affairs. I am told that the Department has at times employed thirty thousand men. At times the Reclamation Service employs sixteen thousand, and the Indian Office six thousand. The regular payroll of the General Land Office varies from fourteen hundred to eighteen hundred, about five hundred of whom are at the central office in the City of Washington. I shall not tire you with statistics of the other bureaus.

It is currently reported and believed that there is little homestead land left in the Public Domain, but during the year which ended on June 30, 1912, fourteen million five hundred thousand acres of public and Indian lands were entered, and ten million acres were patented, half of this area under the Homestead law. While the typical Homestead lands of the West suitable for ordinary methods of

cultivation have nearly all been taken up, nearly two hundred thousand acres of agricultural lands in National Forests were opened to settlement and entered, and the new fields opened to the homesteader under irrigation projects have far exceeded in fertility and value the richest farms of the middle West. Millions of acres have been reclaimed from the desert. Over three million acres have been segregated under the Carey Act alone. I believe petitions have been filed to date for segregation of a total of between seven and eight million acres of land. Under this Act various western states have expended forty-five million dollars, and have one million two hundred thousand acres for which water is available. Six hundred thousand of these acres have been settled on and cultivated. The Reclamation Service, which is handled directly by the Federal Government, has one million two hundred thousand acres for which water is available, and eight hundred forty thousand acres have been settled on and cultivated by approximately twenty thousand families.

The National Forests contain a hundred and eighty-seven million acres, with about one-fifth of the country's total timber supply. From these forests the lands which are suitable for agricultural settlement are being segregated from time to time as the investigations proceed and as timber is cut. Nearly two million acres have been restored to entry under the public land laws.

The magnitude of the economic and administrative problems connected with the Indian lands is understood by few. There are approximately three hundred and twenty-five thousand Indians now in this country, of whom three hundred thousand are under Government control. Since the first census of the Indian population in this country was taken, about the year 1820, by the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there has been a loss of about twenty to twenty-five per cent in Indian population, representing the

decimation by disease and other causes. The property they own is estimated to be worth \$650,000,000, and they have \$10,500,000 on deposit in the banks in cash under the administration of the Department of the Interior. \$81,000,000 of the immense fund of \$650,000,000 is personal property, and the remainder consists of lands and its contents and of the standing timber, which is estimated to be worth about \$83,000,000. This may perhaps furnish to you some explanation of why the white man, especially in the Southwest and in parts of the Northwest, is so eager to take care of the Indian's property for him.

While our unappropriated agricultural lands have been diminished in value and in area, the importance of the mineral lands still belonging to the Nation has enormously increased. The great problems presented in public land administration are connected with the development and disposition of these lands, and of the sites suitable for the generation of water power. The most important work of the Geological Survey has become the classification of these lands so that they may be opened for development and use under appropriate legislation. The Survey has done considerable work along this line, in fact the proof sheets of a bulletin (No. 537) dealing with this subject were handed to me as part of the material for this speech, and the work of that Bureau in the classification of public lands has excited a tremendous interest all over this country and abroad, because it is one of the most significant applications of real science to practical governmental operations. The Geological Survey, a purely scientific Bureau, examines, surveys and classifies the public lands as rapidly as the appropriations will permit. It is the almost total lack of appropriate legislation for opening these lands that presents the real difficulties in the way of constructive conservation of the natural resources of the Nation. The responsibility for this situation rests squarely upon Congress, and not upon

the Executive officials or the conservationists. Again and again the necessity for remedial legislation has been urged upon Congress, from official and unofficial sources, but the combined opposition of radicals and reactionaries has thus far prevented action. Public lands can be withdrawn for classification, but when once classified they cannot be restored to entry under any laws which will promote development and at the same time protect the public interest. This point cannot be too strongly emphasized. The problems of the tariff and the trusts may seem more important and more pressing, but more vital than these to the future welfare of this country is the right solution of the fundamental economic and political issues involved in the development and control of our natural resources and especially of the sources of mechanical power.

We have lost effective public control of many of these sources,— coal, oil and water power. There is enough remaining, however, so that under wise legislation, if enacted soon, the public interests can yet be properly conserved and protected. What is important to have the public understand is that such legislation is not written in the statute books. To-day the protection of the public interests in these vital matters depends almost entirely upon Departmental regulations, established by the Executive heads of the Departments of the Interior and of Agriculture with respect to the public domain, and by the Secretary of War with respect to navigable rivers. The Secretary of Agriculture has jurisdiction over the National Forests except that he cannot grant any permits or dispose of those lands in any way that affects the title. Permits involving their temporary use are under his jurisdiction, and many such permits are issued. The regulations established by these Secretaries can be revoked by Executive order tomorrow morning, so that the country might be left without adequate protection of the public interests, or the private investor might be left without

adequate protection for his investment. If these regulations do not fully encourage development and protect the investor, if they do not adequately protect the public interests, it is because of inadequate laws and in spite of repeated concrete suggestions of remedial legislation. Until last year even the Withdrawal Act, under which our public lands are withdrawn for classification, did not protect water power sites against entries under the mining laws. The result was that many important water power sites were plastered with bogus mining claims. Where no pretense of finding metalliferous minerals could be made, "limestone placers," or other equally preposterous mines were located at strategic points in gorges and canyons.

Mr. Blanchard will show you some pictures of three of the most important water power streams in the Northwest, one of them international in character, one of them in which the estimated water power amounts to over a million horse power; and the other one, in a single canyon in which a railroad right of way at present prevents development, is capable of producing approximately four hundred thousand horse power, and yet in these canyons and along these rivers you will find the most absurd mining locations located at strategic points in the attempt to conform to the requirements necessary to acquire this land.

One of the things in the accomplishment of which I take some pride is the amendment of the general Withdrawal Act, so as to exclude from power sites and other reservations all mining claims except those for metalliferous minerals. The amendment was made at the last session of Congress upon the specific recommendation and very urgent insistence of the Secretary of the Interior. The importance of these withdrawals will be better understood if I give you just a few statistics.

Sixty-six million acres have been withdrawn from entry because there were sufficient indications of coal to justify the

Geological Survey in making investigations. Seventeen and one-half million acres have been classified as coal lands, and a valuation of nearly eight hundred million dollars has been placed upon the seventeen and one-half million acres. The withdrawals of oil lands now outstanding amount to nearly five million acres. An interesting withdrawal made during the past year was that of sixty-eight thousand acres as a Naval Oil Reservation for the future use of the navy of the United States. This land is capable of producing two hundred and fifty million barrels of oil, and is located in the San Joaquin valley in California. Three million acres of phosphate lands have been withdrawn, and power sites covering two million acres. In addition to these withdrawals for power sites on the general public domain, the National Forests contain approximately twelve million horse power undeveloped.

None of these lands can be restored to entry under laws properly adapted for the purpose. Coal lands must be purchased outright at the prices fixed by the Geological Survey, in spite of the fact that the increased tendency, both in private holdings and under state laws, is towards the leasing system. Practically all of the western states, certainly all of the northwestern states, including Colorado, provide for leasing these coal lands under leases which permit and encourage development under effective control, and yet representatives of these states are among the most pronounced and unbending opponents of a leasing policy for the Federal government.

Ninety per cent of the oil lands of the United States are said to be operated under lease, and yet the oil lands belonging to the United States can be opened only under the placer mining laws, which are wholly unadapted to this purpose. The result is that they are not opened at all, and the oil lands withdrawn by the Government on the recommendation of the Geological Survey remain locked up, while the accusation

is hurled at the advocates of conservation that the conservation policy is a policy of negation, and withdrawal, when the real responsibility, the whole responsibility, rests upon Congress which has been repeatedly urged to pass laws, and proposed laws have been drafted and presented to them for their action. There are no laws suitable for the opening of phosphate and potash lands, so essential for the agricultural future of the Nation. Power sites can be developed only under revocable permits, which cannot contain appropriate "terms and conditions" to protect the public interest, and which furnish most unsatisfactory and inadequate security for the investor. The secret of this situation is that Congress has been unwilling to adopt the constructive suggestions that have been made to it, although showing by its inaction that it is unwilling or unable to devise constructive measures of its own. Meanwhile the enemies of any effective conservation are falsely charging that policy with the consequences of delay. It is time that the truth be known, and that Congress shall be forced to act so that the storehouses of the Nation may be opened and opened in the right way. The new administration has here its opportunity and its obligation. I am hopeful that it will seize the one and meet the other.

The record of the new Secretary of the Interior as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission justifies the expectation that he will be progressive and constructive. Having had some personal experience with the difficulties that confront him, I sincerely trust that every effort he makes to solve these problems along the right line may receive encouragement and support. In these days when the divisions within parties are apt to cut more deeply than the divisions between parties on subjects like this, it is the duty of all who believe in constructive conservation to unite in the support of a legislative program that will promote public interests while protecting private interests, no matter

who proposes the program or who may get the credit for its adoption.

During the past two years there has been a well founded suspicion that the better the program proposed the less likely it was to be adopted, on account of those who were playing politics and were unwilling to increase the credit of the administration. And I wish to take this opportunity to testify to the warm interest and cordial support that President Taft has given to every suggestion of constructive conservation measures.

Always delighted at every successful effort to promote development along right lines, he has never failed to exercise his high prerogative of withdrawing public lands and resources from development along lines that would not promote and protect the public interests. I can recall no recommendation for restoration or withdrawal during the past two years that he has not approved and supported, and his vigorous veto of the Coosa River dam bill is a landmark on the road to a correct water-way policy.

The whole field of government presents no greater problem than that which confronts the Department of the Interior — none upon whose correct solution the future well being of the people more largely depends. It is the great underlying, ever present problem of all government — the right adjustment of public and private interest in the development and use of the Nation's natural resources and the proper co-ordination of State and Federal functions. It is an economic problem and a political problem — I use the word "political" in its largest and truest sense. We live in an era which exalts efficiency, and efficiency means primarily the elimination of waste — waste of energy, waste of time and waste of material. Conservation is simply another name for efficiency, and its aim is to eliminate waste — waste of individual life and property and waste of community life and property. It is merely a new

and a proper and a truer conception of national efficiency — a conception that the greatest waste is that which is brought about by unsound economics, by unwise legislation and by dishonest and inefficient administration. It is the new conception of an awakened public conscience and a more enlightened public intelligence — that along with individual efficiency may go great waste to the community if the individual is allowed to take and hold a larger share of the Nation's wealth or property than is needed to stimulate his enterprise and industry.

It is a great gratification to me to be able to say that during the past two years substantial progress has been made — in clarifying the issues, in reconciling differences and in adopting definite, practical and constructive measures. We have made many reports, had many hearings, held many conferences with private interests and public officials, State and Federal. The issues are clearer than they were. The points of agreement among individuals and interests have been established and increased. The points of difference have been diminished and defined. Acting upon the principle that evolution is wiser than revolution, the Department has not refused to act merely because ideal conditions are not yet possible. It has acted in the belief that wisdom consists in doing to-day what is possible to-day, keeping open the way to take tomorrow's step when tomorrow comes. The differences between public and private interests have been adjusted when they could not be reconciled. In spite of inadequate laws, power permits have been issued and coal leases made.

I may stop long enough to tell you of the one conspicuous coal lease made by the Federal Government to-day. We have in the state of Wyoming a coal company known as the Owl Creek Coal Company, which acquired a very considerable tract of coal land of great value. Investigation by the land office showed that the entries were permeated with

fraud, so permeated that criminal indictments are now pending, and that the civil claims to the land have been tried in the Department and the entries have been cancelled. Thereupon the employees of the Owl Creek Coal Company and those who were dependent upon its mines for coal petitioned Congress, and Congress passed a resolution that the Secretary of the Interior should be authorized under rules and regulations and upon terms and conditions imposed by him, to permit the continued operation of the mines, a very simple matter, and it didn't take my First Assistant Secretary, Mr. Adams, who is here now, very long to devise the theory that the terms and conditions that would be imposed would be the acceptance of a proper coal lease. One was drawn, and the conditions imposed were accepted by the Company, and the land is now being successfully and contentedly operated under what the opponents of conservation have said was an impossible system.

We have talked less of State rights and Federal rights and more of State functions and Federal functions. Within the limits of statutes and appropriations, we have established effective practical co-operation between the Nation and the States. The Department of the Interior and the State of Oregon, at joint expense, are investigating one of the great rivers of that state, for the purpose of devising the most effective method of developing its water power and conserving its waters for the irrigation of public and private lands.

The Department of the Interior and the State Railroad and Conservation Commissions of California are to-day in effective and harmonious co-operation in everything that affects their common interests. The helpful effect of open public discussion has been demonstrated by a whole series of intensely interesting conferences.

The proper disposition of our public coal lands in the

Western states and in Alaska has been discussed at mass meetings and private interviews, on the ground, and in Washington, with citizens and entrymen, with engineers and experts, with the owners and operators of coal mines. A bill providing a liberal but carefully guarded coal leasing law for Alaska has been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. I regret to say that it has stopped with that favorable report. Under authority of Congress an expert Commission has made a most valuable report upon the railroad situation in Alaska, with special reference to the development of its coal fields, and upon that report President Taft, who has never been accused of being unduly radical, has recommended the construction of a government railroad in Alaska. These constructive suggestions place the responsibility for the future development of Alaska squarely upon Congress. The conservationists can no longer be charged with responsibility for delays in opening that territory to the public.

The Department has reported fully and favorably upon the Water-way Bill introduced by Senator Newlands and upon the water-power Bill introduced by Senator Burton, in accordance with the exhaustive report of the National Water-Ways Commission. And to demonstrate the practicability of vigorous development under wise restrictions, water power permits have been issued to and accepted by intelligent and financially responsible concerns in Montana, California and Alabama. These permits are not what they should be, nor what they could be under proper legislation, but they are demonstrations that the conservation policies do not prevent development even under present laws, and that they would be far more effective under proper legislation.

The Departmental regulations on water power were adopted after extended discussion and correspondence with interested parties. A two-days conference in Washington

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was attended by the representatives of water power companies, engineers and financial promoters, and also by officers of the State Conservation and Railroad Commissions of California, and Federal Executive Departments. Effective inter-departmental co-operation has been established with the Department of Agriculture, which administers the National Forests, and with the War Department, which has jurisdiction over navigable streams. The results of all this interchange of opinion are embodied in comprehensive regulations under which several important permits were issued during the closing days of the administration. Your President has referred to one of these, which marks the first application of electric power to a transcontinental railroad, a step I am glad to say that has been taken under the enlightened policy of a member of this Club, the President of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad.

But you may also be interested in a little permit issued on March 3, 1913, to a company in Birmingham, Alabama, for power development on the Black Warrior River. It is a demonstration that Senator Bankhead's opposition to effective Federal regulation is not shared by all of his constituents, nor even by those who are financially interested in hydro-electric power.

I may stop long enough to give you just a brief outline of that permit. The Black Warrior River was one of the great points of controversy in a previous session of Congress. It and the Coosa River absorbed the public attention. The Black Warrior River was the point of chief attack, and legislation upon that subject was defeated. The Coosa River bill was passed without proper protection of public interests, without conforming to the policies of the War Department or the Interior Department, and the result was that the President vetoed it in the message to which I have just referred. Senator Bankhead of Alabama has been in many respects the leader of the opposition, and has contend-

ed that these restrictions that we have imposed would prevent the proper development of this water power. It so happens that in the city of Birmingham, Alabama, there is a gentleman who is interested in electric power development, and who, like Mr. Ryan of the Amalgamated Copper Company and the Great Falls Power Company, is able to see that the old game is played out, and that the sooner the power interests and the general public recognize the fact and set themselves to reconciling their differences so that development can go ahead along right lines the better it will be for all concerned. This gentleman very readily consulted with the Secretary of War and for some long period of time was vainly attempting to work out a solution of his difficulties. He wished to get a power permit on the Black Warrior River, but Congress would not pass one which contained proper provisions, and the President would not sign one which did not. The result was it looked like a deadlock, but somebody suggested to him that the statutes contained a provision which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to issue permits on "public lands and reservations," so he filed his maps and specifications and applied for his permit under the revocable permit statute that I have mentioned. It did not look very good; for at the different power sites on that River where the Government had located dams for the improvement of navigation, the lands involved appeared on the surface to be lands purchased by the Government to build these dams, and it was hard to classify them either as "public lands" or as "reservations," but I got a report on the history of these tracts, and to my surprise and gratification I found that at dam sixteen on the Black Warrior River there was a public executive reservation made by President Roosevelt of some land, which, strange to say, by some miracle happened to be unappropriated public land of the United States, originally entered under a homestead claim, and the homestead had been relinquished, so

that in all respects that tract of land was as much a "reservation" as any other tract of land in the United States. This we ascertained on Friday of last week. A telegram to Birmingham brought the President of the power company and his engineers to Washington. He corrected his maps to correspond and comply with the regulations of the Department. They were sent to the Secretary of War with a request for an opinion as to whether this application would in any way interfere with the navigation plans of that Department. The reply came that not only would it not interfere, but that the Secretary heartily approved of the granting of the permit, and on Monday morning, March third, this Company had a permit on the Black Warrior River. I doubt if the Senator from Alabama has yet found it out.

A conference with the parties interested in large potash development on the Public Domain resulted in unanimous agreement on a leasing bill to be presented to Congress as the wisest legislation, both from the public and the private point of view, for the development of this enormously important and valuable natural resource. I regret that it was too late even to have the bill introduced in the 62nd Congress.

For the first time in the administration of the National Parks, annual public conferences have been held at which the problems of park administration have been discussed, with a large attendance of park officials and employees, railroad representatives, hotel managers, and others interested in park concessions, as well as citizens who are deeply interested in the National Parks.

Lack of time, however, prevents me from discussing the extended conferences which I held last summer in Hawaii. There may have been other more interesting and instructive experiments in economic vivisection, but if so I do not know of them. Nor can I tell of the many public discussions of

reclamation problems, nor of the Hetchy-Hetch conference which occupied a week at Washington in the consideration of all the suggested sources of municipal water supply for the city of San Francisco and the communities around San Francisco Bay. They were each and all due to the conviction that the way to get at the facts and to make progress is to discuss differences man-fashion, in open meeting and with open mind.

If any progress has been made by the Department of the Interior during the past two years, it has been due to these methods, and it is my hope and expectation that they will continue to be the methods of the Department under my successor.

Mr. Fisher was followed by Mr. C. J. Blanchard of the Reclamation Service, with a most interesting and able presentation of numerous stereopticon views and moving pictures illustrative of the scope and work of the Department of the Interior, which it has not been found practicable to include in this pamphlet. The poems which Mr. Fisher recited and his remarks just preceding them follow.

While the moving pictures are being arranged, these pictures we have just seen have reminded me of something that may interest you.

You have seen these remarkable differences and the remarkable similarity between the two territories of Hawaii and Alaska. I was very much impressed by their points of resemblance and by their points of difference. At the meeting of the National Geographical Society when Amundsen and Peary were there, they asked me to talk about Hawaii and Alaska, and the only thing I could think of was two poems which illustrate, I think, better than anything I know, the characteristics of the two territories, and if I can remember them I will try to repeat them now. The territories of Hawaii and Alaska are both volcanic as you know. The mountains of Hawaii are at times snow-capped,

and rise to a very considerable height, fourteen thousand feet, I believe. The mountain ranges in Alaska, of course, contain the highest mountains in the country and very many mountains of lesser height. I know of nothing that typifies, however, the characteristics and the points of view of these two territories so well as these two poems.

The one on Hawaii is written by Mrs. Walter F. Frear, the wife of the Governor:

MY ISLANDS

On the edge of the world my islands lie,
Under the sun-steeped sky,
And their waving palms
Are bounteous alms,
To the soul-spent passer-by.

On the edge of the world my islands dream,
Under the tender gleam
Of moon and star
That beckon far,
From worlds that only seem.

On the edge of the world my islands sleep,
In a slumber soft and deep,
What should they know
Of a world of woe,
And myriad men that weep?

On the edge of the world my islands wake,
And their languid sleep forsake.
They long to live,
Their all to give,
And the work of the world partake.

On the edge of the world, dear islands, stay,
Far from the clamorous day.
Content with calm,
Hold peace and balm,
Be Isles of the Blest for Aye!

The one on Alaska is altogether of a different fiber, as you might imagine from the character of the country, and yet I think it contains real gold. It was written by Robert Service.

THE SPELL OF THE YUKON

I wanted the gold, and I sought it;
I scrabbled and mucked like a slave.
Was it famine or scurvy — I fought it
I hurled my youth into a grave.
I wanted the gold, and I got it —
Came out with a fortune last fall,—
Yet somehow life's not what I thought it,
And somehow the gold isn't all.

No, There's the land. (Have you seen it?)
It's the cussedest land that I know,
From the big, dizzy mountains that screen it
To the deep, deathlike valleys below.
Some say God was tired when He made it;
Some say it's a fine land to shun;
Maybe, but there's some as would trade it
For no land on earth — and I'm one.

You come to get rich (damned good reason);
You feel like an exile at first;
You hate it like hell for a season,
And then you are worse than the worst.
It grips you like some kinds of sinning;
It twists you from foe to a friend;
It seems it's since the beginning;
It seems it will be to the end.

I've stood in some mighty-mouthed hollow
That's plumb-full of hush to the brim;
I've watched the big, husky sun wallow
In crimson and gold, and grow dim,
'Til the moon set the pearly peaks gleaming,
And the stars tumbled out, neck and crop;
And I've thought that I surely was dreaming,
With the peace o' the world piled on top.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The summer — no sweeter was ever;
The sunshiny woods all athrill;
The grayling aleap in the river,
The bighorn asleep on the hill.
The strong life that never knows harness;
The wilds where the caribou call;
The freshness, the freedom, the farness —
O God, how I'm stuck on it all.

The winter, the brightness that blinds you,
The white land locked tight as a drum,
The cold fear that follows and finds you,
The silence that bludgeons you dumb.
The snows that are older than history,
The woods where the weird shadows slant;
The stillness, the moonlight, the mystery,
I've bade 'em good-by — but I can't.

There's land where the mountains are nameless,
And the rivers all run God knows where;
There are lives that are erring and aimless,
And deaths that just hang by a hair;
There are hardships that nobody reckons;
There are valleys unpeopled and still;
There's a land — oh, it beckons and beckons,
And I want to go back — and I will.

They're making my money diminish;
I'm sick of the taste of champagne.
Thank God, when I'm skinned to a finish
I'll pike to the Yukon again.
I'll fight — and you bet it's no sham-fight;
It's hell, but I've been there before;
And it's better than this by a damsite —
So me for the Yukon once more.

There's gold, and it's haunting and haunting;
It's luring me on as of old;
Yet it isn't the gold that I'm wanting
So much as just finding the gold.

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It's the great, big, broad land 'way up yonder,
It's the forests where silence has lease
It's the beauty that thrills me with wonder,
It's the stillness that fills me with peace.

PRESIDENT CARR: I am confident that all guests and members of this club will join in subscribing to the sentiment, "Well done, good and faithful servant of the nation."

We extend to you, Mr. Fisher, our appreciation of the address of this evening, and again allow us to assure you of a most cordial welcome home. Gentlemen, the meeting stands adjourned.

TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST
REGULAR MEETING
THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1913

Closed Meeting; President Carr Presiding

PROGRAM

PRESENTATION OF ANNUAL REPORTS

President (for Executive Committee)

Treasurer*

Secretary*

Committee on Plan of Chicago*

Committee on Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws

Committee on a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago

Educational Committee

DISCUSSION OF PLAN OF CHICAGO:

Charles H. Wacker

Joy Morton

John V. Farwell

DISCUSSION OF REFORMS OF TAXATION IN ILLINOIS:

Adolphus C. Bartlett

Bernard A. Eckhart

DISCUSSION OF A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO:

Alexander A. Mc Cormick

Henry B. Favill

Theodore W. Robinson

Alfred L. Baker

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

ON THE WORK OF THE CLUB:

Benjamin Carpenter

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, The Commercial Club in the years gone by has been particularly fortunate in its Secretaries, and I wish to express this evening the great debt

*For full text of report, see next section of Year Book.

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which the Executive Committee owes to the present Secretary. It seems to me that he is entitled to a unanimous vote of thanks for the efficient services he has rendered during the last year.

MR. KEYES: I would like to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That The Commercial Club desires to express its very great appreciation of the courtesy and efficiency with which Mr. Walter B. Smith has filled the office of its Secretary during the past year, and directs that this minute be spread upon the Club records.

(Motion duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

PRESIDENT CARR: The Treasurer's report was not published, it could not be published in the pamphlet, and I will call on Mr. Field to read that report:

(See page 244 for report.)

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, what will you do with the report?

(Upon motion duly seconded the report was unanimously adopted.)

PRESIDENT CARR: Now, the only business of the evening, other than the election of officers, is the general discussion of the reports which have been distributed in pamphlet form.

Some two, three or four years ago the Club adopted the idea of printing these reports rather than have detailed reports from the various chairmen.

This is the thirty-fifth annual meeting of The Commercial Club, which years ago became an institution in the life of the city. It warrants the most cordial and sincere support of every member of the Club and of every citizen who has the welfare of Chicago at heart.

The reports of the officers and committees have been prepared in pamphlet form and are before you this evening. It will be unnecessary to call on the various chairmen for

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reports in detail, but we will go over them and find if there is anything to be said by any of the members regarding the activities of the Club. Under the circumstances you will realize that there is little left for me to say, but for the Executive Committee, I may, in a word, summarize the activities of the year by referring to the successful "Day in the Country" spent at Onwentsia; the November dinner at which interesting addresses were delivered by Mr. John P. Wilson, President James of the University of Illinois, and Mr. Harrison B. Riley on "Taxation Reform in Illinois;" the meeting and luncheon in December, at which Doctor Nicholas Murray Butler was guest of honor and at which he delivered addresses on "What is Progress in Politics" and "Vocational Education;" the January dinner at which we had an unusually large attendance, when President Wilson favored us with his address on "The Business Future of the Country," and former Secretary Walter L. Fisher's speech at the March meeting on "The Department of the Interior," followed by an especially interesting stereopticon lecture by Mr. Blanchard of the Reclamation Service. At the closed meeting of the Club in February we were favored with reports in detail from the various Committees on "Taxation," "Federal Immigration Station," "Education" and a stereopticon lecture by Mr. Walter D. Moody on "Plan of Chicago."

As to the work of the members of the committees during the past year, it is quite impossible for me to emphasize too much my admiration for the unselfish devotion to their task on the part of the members of all our active committees. Few of us realize how much they have accomplished.

The Plan Committee, under the able leadership of Mr. Edward B. Butler, has contributed largely to the successful working out of the location for the Field Museum and the proposed outer parkway and lagoon from Grant Park to Jackson Park. As you know from reports in the daily

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press, the Supreme Court has refused to set aside the action of the lower court in confirming the contract between the South Park Board and the Illinois Central Railroad. Filling is well under way at the foot of Twelfth Street, and Mr. Field advises me that probably by next autumn it will be possible to make a survey for the actual building site, and building operations will begin soon thereafter.

The Taxation Committee, of which Mr. Bartlett is Chairman, are unfortunately not in position to report favorable action on tax amendment by the legislature of Illinois, but many meetings have been held with the Mayor and representatives of other civic bodies in Chicago, to the end that most of these organizations have recommended that reformation in taxation be given precedence over every other matter under consideration by the legislature. It is entirely proper to say that reform in taxation is assured in the comparatively near future, because all organizations have been aroused to its necessity, and the only difficulty is that of precedence of constitutional amendment. There is no disposition on the part of any body of influential citizens to oppose a comprehensive and general recasting of our system of taxation, and we still hope that the legislature may pass a measure at this session in line with the overwhelming demand expressed by the people of the state on the occasion of referendum on this subject.

Members of this Club not serving on the Educational Committee have little or no appreciation of the herculean task of this committee for the past year, and how each and every member of that committee has given his time without stint. The general committee is thoroughly organized under Mr. Mark's leadership, with sub-committees on the various phases of its activities, and I take it for granted that you have read the report as given you in pamphlet form this evening. Many of the leading educators of this country have had no hesitancy in stating that the Vocational

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Education in America has been advanced by fully five years because of the work of The Commercial Club of Chicago.

I am pleased to report that the Committee on a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago, of which Mr. John E. Wilder is Chairman, was able to make a record of final accomplishment. The bill, which was fathered by this committee and written by Professor Freund of the University of Chicago, and presented by Congressman Sabath, was passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, and signed by the President. Thus the establishment of a station in Chicago is assured. Further than this, under its provisions the effects will be far reaching, as it may be extended after the first year to other cities, as the Secretary of Commerce may direct.

The fact that Chicago is to have, after years of struggle, the magnificent outer park, the widened Twelfth Street and Michigan Avenue, is proof of the efficiency of our committees in co-operation with other official and non-official bodies.

The work of the Immigration Committee was inaugurated about five years ago, and has at last been brought to a successful conclusion. This indicates the necessity for patience on the part of our members when they are inclined too often to expect immediate results from any committee. I do not know of any work undertaken by The Commercial Club in the past which has ultimately failed, but it sometimes requires years of painstaking effort, and it behooves each and every one of us to continue our moral and financial support to each and every committee of The Commercial Club, no matter if we sometimes feel that results are slow of accomplishment. I prophesy for the comparatively near future just as great a measure of success for the Taxation and Educational Committees as has been achieved by the Committees on a Federal Immigration Station and Plan of Chicago.

I would respectfully suggest that for the future you

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seriously consider undertaking work for two new committees, because the work on the Federal Immigration Station has been practically finished and there is no longer necessity for so much laborious work on the Plan Committee. As you know, this latter work has been taken over by the Chicago Plan Commission under the efficient leadership of our fellow-member, Mr. Charles H. Wacker. It seems to me that The Commercial Club should have at least four active, hard working committees in the field, and there will be carried over the necessity for strenuous effort on the part of the Taxation and Educational Committees, but there is room for two activities to take the place of the Federal Immigration and the Chicago Plan Committees' work.

At one of the closed meetings last year I had occasion to refer to a calendar which I chanced to see at one of the State Street stores, and commended to all members of The Commercial Club, as follows: "Enter this door without knocking and remain in that attitude during your stay." One does not profit much in his efforts to secure membership in The Commercial Club by knocking continually at the door, but surely, after being admitted, the best interests of the Club are not served by any such practice. We must have frank discussion and criticism of our activities at the closed meetings of the Club, and I shall welcome any such discussion this evening, but we should encourage a feeling of loyalty to the members of all committees, a spirit of one for all and all for one, and once this Club has undertaken any work, I plead with you to support the activities and the individuals who are carrying the burden of the day. If we have any discussions, let us have them right here in our meetings, and under no circumstances cast discredit on the work of the committees when we meet our friends outside of the membership of the Club. I can testify to the fact from my experience as your President that the members are as ready and willing as ever to take hold of and do

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specific work placed on their shoulders by the Executive Committee. Each one of us owes a great debt to the City of Chicago, and we should consider it an honor and privilege to serve on a committee of The Commercial Club. Such service is our duty, according to the rules and regulations of the Club, and should be our very great pleasure.

The first report published in the pamphlet is that of the Secretary. The Secretary advises me that he has nothing further to add to his report. I might say that the report of the Secretary indicates that we had a very good attendance at our dinners during the last year; in fact, we showed an increase of an average of six over the year before of the members of the Club at our dinners.

The first Committee to report is that of the Plan of Chicago, and I would like to open the meeting for discussion of that report. Are there any recommendations on the part of the members of the Plan Committee?

MR. SCOTT: Mr. President, it is very unfortunate that Mr. Butler, the Chairman of the Committee of the Plan of Chicago of the Club, is away from Chicago; but if I may be allowed to read just one or two short paragraphs from the report which you all have it may bring more prominently to your notice what the Plan Committee wants to submit to the Club to-night through its report.

Skiping the introductory paragraphs, showing what has been accomplished and what is under way, I read this one:

“The demands upon the drafting office of your Committee in the past year have been heavier than had been expected, and the attending expenses correspondingly high. However, much of the work has been done at the instance of the Plan Commission, and has been paid for by that organization. This work, we believe, has been productive of great good, and will prove of far-reaching influence in the establishing of a higher standard of artistic design as applied to the construction of bridges, viaducts and other public works.

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"This brings us up to that part of our report concerning which our members have a right to be interested, if not somewhat concerned.

"Your Committee realizes that the cost of its maintenance since the publication of its book has been too large for the amount of work accomplished, but owing to the overhead expenses it has been found impossible to do the work we ought to do and keep the annual expenses below \$11,000. We have accordingly entered into an arrangement with Mr. Edward H. Bennett, architect of the Chicago Plan, for a flat yearly sum of \$7,500, whereby he is to maintain the office and drafting room and pay all expenses thereof.

"This means that, with your approval, the expenditures of your Committee for the year beginning March 1, 1913, will be \$7,500.

Now, just a word of explanation: The Chicago Plan Commission has reimbursed the Treasurer of the Plan Committee for extraordinary work done at its suggestion and for its particular purpose along the line of bridges and other things, out of its own limited resources. The total amount of money in the hands of the Plan Committee on April 7th of this year was \$4,395. If the Club approves to-night the arrangement which was entered into by Mr. Butler and Mr. Wilson, for the Committee, with Mr. Bennett, the Club will have to find the money needed to make good the contract.

All the members of the Plan Committee feel that it is most important that the Club continue this Plan work. We must retain the drafting rooms for at least another year, with men in charge who are familiar with the work and able to move promptly along any line of the Plan. While individual members of the Club are giving money to support the Plan Commission (for Mr. Wacker has not been able to get from the City of Chicago all that he needs for this important work) members of your Committee feel — and

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Mr. Wacker does, I am sure — that the Club, as an organization, must continue to stand behind the Plan of Chicago.

The Committee respectfully requests that the Club approve its action in entering into the contract with Mr. Bennett.

MR. WACKER: As Chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission, I sincerely hope that this Club will agree to furnish the amount of money necessary to maintain the quarters we have on top of the Railway Exchange Building, in charge of the Chicago Plan Committee of The Commercial Club.

In the first place, I desire personally to have the co-operation and advice of that Committee, and I desire to say that at no time in the history of our Commission has it been as important as it is right now to have that organization; and I will further say that the work that we have accomplished could not have been accomplished, and that the work that is now completed in connection with the projection of Michigan Avenue could not have been done, and the results could not have been obtained without the department which this Club has organized. To drop that at the present time on account of the lack of funds would be disastrous. The Chicago Plan is a Commercial Club proposition, and in all of our documents, and in all of our talks to the people, (Mr. Moody and I made 211 during the past year), it has been brought forward to the people as a Commercial Club proposition. It is the baby of The Commercial Club, and I hope that at this stage this Club will not refrain from giving it further support.

Personally, I hope and I believe that with the support of this organization we will be able to get large results, and that we will be able to get a much larger amount of money contributed by the City; in fact, I am satisfied that we will.

MR. J. V. FARWELL: I do not believe that the Club can say enough in appreciation of the work which has been done by this Committee during the past year. As we all know,

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this work was begun in 1907, when The Commercial Club consolidated with the Merchants Club, and it has been the main work of the Club in one way ever since that time.

I think, perhaps, we will agree there is nothing in all the long list of the things that The Commercial Club has done which has redounded more to its credit, and for which, perhaps, it deserves more credit, than the starting and the prosecution of this work in regard to the Plan of Chicago. It is known all over the world, and the Club gets the credit for having started it, as it deserves to get.

It seems to me, as Mr. Wacker says, and as Mr. Scott has said, that we should not at this time relinquish the work in any way or diminish our zeal in it.

Mr. Bennett, whose name is mentioned here, and with whom we have made the contract, has been, as perhaps all do not know, Mr. Burnham's assistant during all the time that this work has been going on. He is thoroughly familiar with the history of the work from the very beginning; he understands exactly what the Committee wants, and what the Plan Commission wants. We could not have found a better man in the whole United States, perhaps in the whole world, to do this particular work for the Committee than Mr. Bennett.

MR. WACKER: I might add, Mr. Farwell, if you will permit me, that he is now doing very extensive work for Minneapolis, San Francisco and other large cities, and that he is acknowledged to be a great city planner throughout the United States.

MR. FARWELL: He got his first experience in this, perhaps, under the leadership of Mr. Burnham. I think we are very fortunate in having such a man right at our hand who will continue this work.

MR. WACKER: We cannot get along without him; that is the truth of the matter.

MR. FARWELL: I think it is a very favorable arrange-

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ment. The Club has started this, and I feel that none of us will wish to give it up. As Mr. Wacker has said, it is more necessary now than at any other time, because these things have not been accomplished, they have not been done; they are in the process of being done, and it would be very unfortunate if, right in the midst of it, The Commercial Club would drop its particular part. Therefore, I earnestly hope and move that the Club approve the action of the Committee in making the arrangement with Mr. Bennett as stated in the report, and that the Executive Committee, in some manner which may seem best to them, arrange for making up the amount of money necessary.

MR. WACKER: Mr. President, allow me just one more word. I think it may be of interest, in fact I know it will be of interest, to the members of the Club to know that all the work in connection with the projection of Michigan Avenue is now completed, and that we will have a hearing within the next two, or outside, three, weeks, because certain notices must be given before the hearing can take place. I desire also to state to the members that the reason why this matter has been delayed as long as it has is that a decision of the Supreme Court has compelled us to make all the detailed drawings, prior to submitting the ordinance to the council. Heretofore it was sufficient to make an intelligent plan, one that would indicate that the plan was feasible and could be carried out, but the details were not necessary. Since that decision of the Supreme Court, the details must be worked out before the ordinance is presented to the council. I will say to you that 98 different plats completed to-day will go into the council with the ordinance. Now, although it has seemed a long time, we have really not lost time, because if we had presented the matter in the old way of doing it, we would have been compelled to take that time after the ordinance had been introduced. As it is, we have consumed that time before the ordinance has been

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introduced, and the balance of the work will consume just that much less time.

PRESIDENT CARR: You have heard Mr. Farwell's resolution. Is the motion seconded?

MR. JOY MORTON: I desire to second the motion, Mr. President, and to call the particular attention of the Club to the fact that this is perhaps the most unique and enduring undertaking that The Commercial Club has ever engaged itself in. It is like the planting of a tree which is healthy; we have got it started and all we need is a little fertilization and attention.

PRESIDENT CARR: The motion is made by Mr. Farwell and seconded by Mr. Morton. It is now open for discussion. I will urge any and all of the members who wish to speak on this to do so.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

PRESIDENT CARR: The next is the report of the Committee on Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws. I referred to that briefly a few minutes ago. I would like some discussion of that report and of the work of that committee. Mr. Bartlett, you might wish to say a word on that.

MR. BARTLETT: Mr. President and Gentlemen, for whatever has been done by this Committee, I wish to say that the major part of the credit is due to the Vice-Chairman and the other members of the Committee and very little to the Chairman. I have been absent from the city and from the state so long that anything I might undertake to say regarding the report, which has been so well made by the Vice-Chairman and the other members of the Committee, would be stale and unprofitable.

From what information I have gathered, I believe that progress is being made in the direction of an improved revenue law. Were it not for the fact that Governor Dunne was committed by his pre-election utterances and by the platform upon which he ran to an early effort in favor of an initiative

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and referendum, I am convinced that the preliminary action necessary for the revision of the revenue would have more than a fighting chance at this session of the legislature. The Governor has frankly said, and many of his friends who are in accord with his present action agree with him, that he is by no means antagonistic to but is in favor of the revision for which we are asking. He simply feels that the initiative and referendum have the first call. We, on the contrary, are convinced that the vote of last November, being the latest expression of the will of the people, is the one which should have first attention. Our argument is strengthened by the fact that the number of affirmative votes was larger than that previously cast in favor of the action which is now being urged by the administration.

If it so happens that the effort for the initiative and referendum fails, there is at least a possibility of action by the legislature at this session which will result in the desired amendment to the constitution.

However, should it be impossible to secure legislation looking to the revenue amendment, we still have the alternative of working to the end to which your Committee was appointed, namely: for a change in the constitution which will permit of three amendments being made at one election. Should this be accomplished, the revenue amendment would, without doubt, be successful and eventually the state would be redeemed from its present unfortunate and disgraceful plan of levying its taxes. How far we are at present from that eventuality no one can predict.

Mr. Eckhart, the Vice-Chairman, can tell you very much more than I can about what is being done at Springfield at the present time, and what we hope will be done in the future.

What is left for us for the present is to carefully watch proceedings down there, and when the proper time comes use all the influence of this and other organizations which

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are interested in bringing this question to an affirmative vote in the Legislature. I feel very sure that The Commercial Club and its individual members, as well as its Committees, will be very glad indeed to do everything in their power to carry the project to a successful issue.

I thank you, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT CARR: Mr. Eckhart, have you any further report to make?

MR. ECKHART: Mr. President, the situation at Springfield at present is not very encouraging for the adoption of the resolution for a constitutional amendment in relation to a change in our taxing system that is now pending in the Senate. The resolution was introduced by Senator Juul some six weeks ago and referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendment in the Senate.

They arranged a public hearing which was had about four weeks ago, and the Committee considered the two propositions that were before the Committee. The one introduced by the friends of the administration, the initiative and referendum, and the other, the resolution introduced by the people who are behind this constitutional amendment. A discussion and consideration of the merits of the two propositions was had. The friends of the initiative and referendum were there in full force, and they claimed that their measure ought to have the right of way, for the reason that it was recommended by the people of the State of Illinois two years ago at a vote had under the Public Policy Act, and that the recommendation still held good. On the other hand, this question of the amendment to the constitution for the revision of the Illinois taxing system was submitted to the people of this state last November, and was passed, as you all know, by a very large majority vote, 541,189 in favor of the submission of the question, and only 187,467 against it, and that the vote had two years ago is of no force

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at this time, because this last vote is the last say of the people upon this question.

It has been said that Governor Dunne believes that the initiative and referendum will correct a great many evils, and will also partially correct the taxation evil under which we are now suffering so much. He is behind the initiative and referendum with all of the forces and influences that he can exert as Chief Executive of the State.

The bill was reported out by the committee of the Senate and was adopted by a vote of 44 with but one against it. The friends of the constitutional tax amendment did not deem it wise to make an effort to defeat it, but allowed it to go by default. It is now before the House and will be up next Wednesday before the committee to which it was referred. It is believed by those members of the Legislature, those that have followed the subject, that it will not get the required two-thirds vote. It requires, as you know, 102 votes in the House in order to pass; and it is now thought by many members that they will not be able to get that number of votes.

If it is defeated, then the friends of the constitutional amendment for revision will make an effort to get it through. We are not without hope in that direction, and inasmuch as the friends of our measure have not antagonized the initiative and referendum, have not assailed it in any way, but are allowing them to have the right of way, we hope to have their co-operation when our measure comes up. If it should fail, then the friends of the proposed amendment that will permit more than one amendment at one session of the Legislature to be adopted will offer their amendment, and so far as I am personally concerned, if we fail to carry ours, I think that this Club and all those that are in favor of an honest and equitable taxing system ought to support that amendment, so that two years or four years hence we

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may be able to try it again. We should, therefore, not be discouraged if we fail at this session of the Legislature.

This measure ultimately ought to be adopted, and if you are in favor of a constitutional amendment and believe that a constitutional convention should not be held, it behooves us to be persistent and energetic in favor of this movement, just as persistent and energetic as we possibly can be, in order to get relief from the burdens under which we are now laboring. I think that it may be quite possible that we will not be able to muster 102 votes in the House when our amendment comes up. The Legislature, as you know, is divided into many factions, and what the Illinois Legislature will do is very difficult to predict, but the agitation and the education ought to continue with the hope that at some future time, if not now, we may be successful.

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, you have heard the report. The Executive Committee would like some action on the report as printed.

MR. WACKER: I move it be adopted, Mr. President.

(Said motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.)

PRESIDENT CARR: The next is the federal immigration situation in Chicago. As I stated, that is a record of finished accomplishment after four or five years of service. If there are any members of that Committee, or any members of the Club wishing to say a word on that report, we would be glad to hear from them.

Mr. McCormick, have you anything to say on that? I was thinking of your interest in the Protective League, and I am calling on you for that reason.

MR. A. A. McCORMICK: Mr. President, your Committee to secure a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago feels very much gratified that it is able to report to-night that it has accomplished the purpose for which it was appointed.

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The recent Congress has authorized a Federal Immigration Station and provided funds for its establishment. Your Committee feels that the Club has done not only a very beneficent piece of work, but has opened the way into a very large new field which will be of great help to the immigrants coming to this or any other inland city.

If anyone should stand at the Polk Street Station and see the way in which the immigrants were received—until the Immigrants Protective League took it up and bettered conditions—they would realize the horrible situation in which the immigrant coming to this country of his own volition, coming to the promised land, wanting to make this his adopted country, was placed. The men were robbed and the women thrust into the vile white slave traffic. There seemed to be no protection from the City for these people who were unable to speak the English language.

The purpose of this bill is that immigrants coming to Ellis Island, destined to this city or to the West, can now come in bond; that is, a train is made up of these people, and, under this Immigration Bill, inspectors, male and female, are put on the train. They accompany the immigrants from New York to Chicago. People who have no right to get on that train are not allowed on it. They are not allowed to lure the women from the train, or the men.

Just one instance: You all know in Europe a uniform impresses the people. A man in a very gorgeous uniform and cap boarded one of these trains and suggested to the immigrants that they send telegrams to their friends, either here or on the other side, and he collected something like \$250. They, in their ignorance and innocence, felt that their friends would be notified where they were. Now, under this Federal Immigration Bill that sort of robbery will be prevented. When they arrive at one of the stations, they will be taken to the Central Bureau, which the federal government will establish, probably somewhere near the

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Polk Street Station. Here they will all stay until their friends come and get them. If they have the wrong address, they will be permitted to stay there over night. They will have accommodations something like the North Western Station has — which road has the best immigration department in its station that I know of in the world—where they will be taken care of; where they will be protected, where there will be a place for them to get something to eat and where their friends can come for them and identify them, so that these people will not be thrown out into the world as they are at the present time.

You gentlemen who have traveled abroad must feel and realize what a welcoming hand and a protecting hand is to the newcomer. These people are to be our citizens, they come here for that purpose, and if their first impact with our government is robbery, the chances are that they will form a very poor opinion of us. If they are protected and guarded so that they may come and meet their friends, or they are protected while their friends are seeking them, we have taken one of the best steps toward improving our future citizenship that possibly can be taken. The Commercial Club is to be congratulated on securing the immigration station.

PRESIDENT CARR: What is your pleasure regarding the report of the Immigration Committee.

(Upon motion duly seconded, the report was unanimously adopted.)

PRESIDENT CARR: The next is the Educational Committee. Are there any members wishing to speak on that? Mr. Mark, unfortunately, is not here this evening. Mr. Robinson, have you anything to say as a member of that committee?

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. President and Gentlemen, I wish to say that I did not expect to be called upon, but being a

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good soldier, I will try to say a few words on the subject of education.

I do not have to tell the old members of The Commercial Club of its activities in educational matters, neither do I have to tell the members of the old Merchants Club of their activities in similar lines. I may say that the work of these two Clubs resulted in the first meeting of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education being brought to this city, and as the result of that meeting The Commercial Club learned to more fully appreciate that in vocational education there was a problem presented that was far reaching and of much more than academic interest.

Now this question with which the Club is now interested is not primarily a question of the school teacher. It is a question that is measured by the greatest good to the greatest number, and, of course, affects every citizen of our republic sooner or later. If you take it from the standpoint of what this Club can accomplish through publicity, then there has been no activity that has achieved wider recognition not only in this country, but in the principal countries of Europe than has the work that we now have under consideration.

I feel, as I talk now and again with the members of this Club, that this question is looked upon as one of rather academic interest. I feel that due appreciation is perhaps not given to the unquestioned fact that this subject is one that directly, at the present time and in the future, affects the business man. It is a question of property and property rights. It is a question not only of the economic efficiency of this nation, but it is a question that directly concerns not only the production of wealth, but the question of the distribution of wealth. All of us appreciate the fact that we are in an age of discontent, and we all of us are getting more or less tired of the question.

I want to try and impress upon you business men that in the problem that is now presented at Springfield, which

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

is the result of nine or ten years of active effort, and in my experience going back farther than that, that you have something that vitally concerns these matters to which I have referred. Therefore, please do not consider that this is a school teacher question, for it is a problem that directly concerns and influences every man here.

I will speak just a few words upon what the situation is at Springfield. There are two bills: One The Commercial Club bill and the other is known as the Conference bill. The Commercial Club bill aims to accomplish what? Nothing more than that there shall be added to our present public school system the opportunity in any district in the State of Illinois to provide schools supplemental and in addition to the schools that we now have. It does not in any way affect our present public school system. In other words, if a district decides, instead of putting in a high school, that they want to put in a vocational school, then if they vote in favor of the same they can do it.

Now the other bill, which is presented, attempts to say more than that; it attempts to say that a district can not only put in the vocational school, but it must at the same time provide funds through taxation which will give to our present schools the opportunity of putting in so-called pre-vocational studies.

You gentlemen have seen a great deal of criticism in the papers in regard to this separate system. Now the cost will be not to exceed what the cost is now for any additional schools. This is a bugaboo that has been presented by the opposition. Our opposition is two-fold, sincere and insincere. It is very largely insincere and is prompted by self-interest. We have now at Springfield a great deal of favorable sentiment created as our vocational bill is beginning to be better understood.

As to the question of organized labor, I believe the majority of them at heart believe in this bill and are really in

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

accord with the principles enunciated by the Federation of Labor through the national body headed by Mr. Gompers; yet, nevertheless, on account of local conflict and opposition, I am very much afraid we are not going to have the support of organized labor.

On a hearing on the Conference bill, which was called for last Wednesday, there were present forty of the representatives who were in favor of the bill. Now we have got to have a good representation down there next Tuesday for our bill. I know that Mr. Mark is very anxious that every member of this Club who can be present should be present. It will only take one afternoon and an evening; you leave here at 11:40 and you are back the next morning. So in closing, I will urge this duty upon you, for this is the culmination of the work of many years and it should be supported by you at the present critical time.

I thank you, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT CARR: The organization of the Educational Committee is very complete. I would like to hear from some other members of that committee. Mr. Baker, have you anything to say?

MR. BAKER: Nothing, Mr. President, Mr. Robinson has covered the ground.

PRESIDENT CARR: Dr. Favill, can you tell us anything about it?

DR. FAVILL: Mr. President, I agree with Mr. Baker that Mr. Robinson has fully covered the subject, but with one exception, which I wish to mention.

I think there must be some confusion in the minds of the members of this Club as to the merits of this situation. Presumably they are accepting the opinion and the expression of the Committee upon this subject, but they cannot know, unless they have followed in considerable detail, how the enormous opposition to what seems to be the most rational method of procedure has arisen. Mr. Robinson has sug-

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gested certain motives, obvious and concealed, with reference to this, and I need not go into that.

The fact is, however, that this measure, until very recently, has not been considered at large upon its merits. I hardly can think of any large public movement which has been approached from one side in particular which we call the opposition, with the same amount of prejudice and with as little fair weighing of the practical procedure as is characteristic of this measure. This has, in a measure, burned itself out, and we have done very little on the part of the Committee as yet with reference to active legislative work. I think the trend of opinion and influence, outside of the circles which Mr. Robinson has mentioned, is in our favor now. But in all probability we are not going to succeed with this legislature. I believe, however, that the status of the matter and the relation of The Commercial Club to the matter is, in this coming year and the years immediately to follow, going to be stronger and more dignified and more accredited at large in the city than ever before, and consequently I feel that the time and effort and money which has been put into this, even if at the moment it appears to have been unproductive, has not in any degree been wasted or misspent, and that it will only be a short time until the essential factors of the proposition of The Commercial Club will be recognized sufficiently widely by the thinking people of the state to make it certain that this view, as represented in the report of our Committee, will prevail.

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, are there any members of the Club outside of the Committee who wish to ask any questions regarding this matter?

(On motion duly seconded, the report was unanimously adopted.)

PRESIDENT CARR: That ends the business of the evening so far as the reports are concerned.

I would like to call your attention to the circular, which

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

was sent to the members of the Club, regarding certain proposed or suggested changes in the by-laws having reference particularly to the advisability of electing not to exceed one associate member over 55 years of age. The present Executive Committee thought best to send this notice out and leave it for our successors to handle as they think best. So far 45 votes have been received, or ballots, and generally speaking, about four-fifths of them are in favor of this change.

I will now ask Mr. Glessner to make the report of the Nominating Committee.

MR. GLESSNER: When Mr. Butler, the Chairman of this Committee, was called out of town the other day, he asked me if I would not represent him, so in his stead and on behalf of the Committee, I have the honor to make the following report:

For President:

Benjamin Carpenter

For Vice-President:

Charles H. Thorne

For Secretary:

Walter B. Smith

For Treasurer:

Albert A. Sprague II

For Members of the Executive Committee to serve one year:

William L. Brown

Hugh J. McBirney

For Members of the Executive Committee to serve two years:

Joy Morton

John W. Scott

For Reception Committee:

Hugh J. McBirney, Chairman,

Eugene J. Buffington

Albert B. Dick

Allen B. Pond

John E. Wilder

Now it goes without saying that the presentation of these names is the highest recommendation that this Committee

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

can give to the men who are to represent this Club and to direct its proceedings and its activities.

PRESIDENT CARR: Gentlemen, I will entertain a motion that the Secretary of the Club be instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for this ticket.

(On motion duly seconded, the Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the ticket as nominated.)

PRESIDENT CARR: The Secretary reports that the ballot has been cast.

PRESIDENT CARR: Now gentlemen, just a personal word of appreciation which I wish to express to members of the Executive Committee for all of the kindly co-operation during the past year, and a word of sincere thanks for the very great honor which you, as members of the Club, paid me a year ago, in making me the President of The Commercial Club. I shall always feel that Chicago has no more honorable position to offer or an office carrying with it a greater privilege. It gives me very great pleasure to introduce my successor, beloved by every member of The Commercial Club, Mr. Benjamin Carpenter.

PRESIDENT CARPENTER: Mr. Ex-President and Fellow-Members of The Commercial Club, I have been trying to detect a slight note of regret in Mr. Carr's voice as he hands me the scepter of this high office, but I do not get it. Instead of that, he sits there with a smile on his face which seems to sing:

“Oh, the satisfaction of peaceable inaction,
Oh, the sense of calm content, the thought of duty
done.”

Mr. Carr also goes out of his way to pick out a Friday to start me on this career of illustrious things.

This is certainly a year when the unexpected is happening with great regularity. Strange looking men are breaking into office, and we have grown so accustomed to wars, tor-

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

nadoes, floods, six per cent. money and Barratt O'Haras, that nothing seems to feaze us any more. We have all become what might be called "progressive optimists," that is, we don't care what happens next, so long as it doesn't happen to us. But this has happened to me, and I could almost hear the sigh of relief that went up a few days ago when you received the report of your Nominating Committee. I know you felt the worst news was out, and that the market ought to improve from now on.

Gentlemen, I did not seek this office. Believe me, I did not, and when it was handed to me, I did my best to dodge it, but if any of you have ever tried to dodge Edward B. Butler, the Chairman of your Nominating Committee, you know how hopeless was my attempt to escape.

I tried to dodge it, not because I do not appreciate the honor, but because I know my own limitations and how poorly they measure up to the responsibility involved. The only comfort and encouragement I have is in the fact that your Vice-President is all right, and that your Executive Committee is composed of able and earnest men. With their help I will do my utmost to uphold the best traditions of the Club and try to pick up a few threads which I think have been lost.

For several years past I have had a feeling, which I think is shared by other members of the Club, that individually a good many of us are so burdened by the increasing baggage of personal success that we are losing our pioneer instinct for united action. We are losing our enthusiasms, and have come to dread and even resent changes and innovations which make for progress and which constitute life. Have we not lost? (This is a serious question.) Have we not lost, in some measure, the confidence of the public? Does not the man in the street pretty generally doubt the disinterestedness of our motives? And do not the politi-

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

cians in the City Hall and at Springfield know of some weak spots in our armor?

These questions must be answered, and answered aright, if this splendid Club is to continue to exist as a factor for good in our community.

Oh, how I wish I could make a speech, but I can't and there's no use trying.

About a year ago your President, or some member of the Executive Committee, came to me, and to my surprise, said they wished me to say a few words on some subject or other at a closed meeting. I was badly frightened and hadn't the slightest idea what to talk about, but coming in on the train the next morning I happened to sit with a close personal friend of mine, a lawyer, a man whom you all know, and whose father is one of our honored retired members. I explained to him that I had to make some remarks to The Commercial Club and that I did not have any idea of what I could say. He said, "That is easy. I will send over something to you." I thought it a mere jest, but that afternoon I received by messenger a paper which I am now going to read to you, because at that closed meeting I was not called on at all. I have had this thing on file ever since. Now you are going to get it, because in my position as the President of the Club, I have the power to inflict it upon you:

"FAIR PLAY."

"The Savage prayed to his idol of stone for victory in war, but he did not get it. So too, the Holy Roman Empire made vain appeal to stop the advance of civilization. Vainly too, does the business man of to-day ask some other than himself for solution of his problem. His fetish is the written law which he believes to hold a panacea. The doctors have convinced him that disease of the body cannot always be cured by medicine. The pastors have assured him that wrongs cannot be set right by symbols and incanta-

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tions, but the lawyers have not convinced him that fair play cannot be guaranteed by law. Sometimes they have not tried. Now it is up to us to diagnose our own disease and try to cure it. We won't cure it by beating tom-toms. We won't cure it by making rules.

"Thirty thousand business men yell with joy when Johnny Evers 'puts one over' on the umpire, and snort if the visiting Englishman asks why baseball should not be like cricket on a basis of fair play. Perhaps all Englishmen don't play fair or all Americans cheat at games, but in general we must admit that 'beating the umpire' is a thoroughly American phrase. Baseball has had more law made for it than any other game ever devised by man, and yet to-day 'beating the umpire' excites more enthusiasm on the bleachers than a three-base hit. Law doesn't make the spirit of fair play. Even the chancery courts cannot insure it. Modern business is suffering because this fact is not appreciated.

"Fair play is a short but not ugly expression of the Golden Rule. Fair play comes not by punishing those who break the rules, be it of baseball or interstate commerce. Fair play is an ideal, and it is inspired in men's hearts in no way so strongly as by example. Inspirations must come from the top; the leaders must set the example. This Commercial Club more than any other body of men in this city have the power and the duty to set the example and inspire the ideal of fair play. The lawyers and courts cannot help us. Each of us shall search his own heart and ask, 'Am I a pattern of monopolist, usurer and seeker of special privilege which all hell can't beat, or does my life and the conduct of my business set an example of fair play?'"

This paper impressed me at the time as good food for the Reflections of this Club, and I have given it to you just as it came to me. I wish it were mine.

One more word and then I am through. You notice

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the accent is on "fair play" instead of on the famous "square deal" we have heard so much about. In this great game of life a square deal is a mighty necessary thing, but after the deal the play must be fair and clean and above-board, otherwise the "square deal" accomplishes nothing at all.

Gentlemen, I will now declare this meeting adjourned.

Reports of Officers and Committees
TO
Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting
OF
The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877
THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896
UNITED 1907

REPORT OF SECRETARY

Your Secretary begs to report on subjects connected with the administration of his office during the Club Year 1912-13, as follows:

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP

The following transfers from Active to Associate Membership have been recorded:

Thies J. Lefens . . .	April 8, 1911
Marvin Hughitt . . .	April 22, 1912
James B. Forgan . . .	April 29, 1912
Adolphus C. Bartlett . . .	May 13, 1912
Charles H. Conover . . .	May 13, 1912
Edward P. Ripley . . .	May 27, 1912
Charles L. Strobel . . .	March 17, 1913

The Active Membership has been increased by the election of the following members: one under election held at the last meeting of the previous Club Year, and five under election during the present Club Year:

Charles H. Markham . . .	April 13, 1912
Harry A. Wheeler . . .	November 9, 1912
Harrison B. Riley . . .	December 14, 1912
H. M. Byllesby . . .	January 11, 1913
Edmund D. Hulbert . . .	February 8, 1913
Richard C. Hall . . .	March 8, 1913

There have been the following removals from the membership through death and resignation:

Active Members:

Daniel H. Burnham, deceased June 1, 1912.
Arthur D. Wheeler, deceased August 29, 1912.

Associate Member:

Thies J. Lefens, deceased, April 14, 1913.

Non-Resident Member:

W. Vernon Booth, resigned May 13, 1912.

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The following table shows the membership at the end of the last five Club Years, with summary of the changes in the different classes of membership during the present year:

	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	Accessions	1912-13 Remov- als	Net Total at end of year
Active.....	108	105	96	94	6	9	91
Associate...	5	5	10	12	7	1	18
Non-resident	15	19	19	16	0	1	15
Retired.....	8	6	6	6	0	0	6
	<hr/> 136	<hr/> 135	<hr/> 131	<hr/> 128	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 130

REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE CLUB

Including the annual meeting to be held April 25th, all of the regular meetings provided for by the Articles of Association will have been held. Of these, the November, December, January and March were open meetings; the remainder being closed meetings.

There was one special meeting held during the year.*

CLUB EXCURSION

Onwentsia Club at Lake Forest, Illinois, was visited June 25, 1912. Luncheon was served en route on a special train. The afternoon was spent, by those members who wished, in a Golf Tournament. For those members who did not enter the tournament automobiles were provided to take them around Lake Forest and vicinity. An informal dinner was served at the Club House in the evening.

ATTENDANCE AT CLUB MEETINGS AND EXCURSION

Following table shows attendance at all Club affairs during the current Club Year to and including the March meeting, and also including the last annual meeting.

* See page 277.

REPORT OF SECRETARY

	Annual Meeting April 13, 1912	Special Meeting May 6, 1912	Onwentsia Trip June 25, 1912	Regular Meeting November 9, 1912	Regular Meeting December 14, 1912	Regular Meeting January 11, 1913	Regular Meeting February 8, 1913	Regular Meeting March 8, 1913	Total All Meetings	Average All Meetings	Total Regular Meetings	Average Regular Meetings
Members:												
Active.....	51	17	40	61	58	77	48	60	412	51.50	355	59.17
Associate.....	5	3	3	9	11	14	7	8	60	7.50	54	9.00
Non-resident..	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	5	.62	5	.83
Retired.....	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	7	.88	7	1.16
Total.....	58	20	43	71	72	94	56	70	484	60.50	421	70.16
Guests:												
Club.....	0	0	0	64	6	18	0	8	96	..	96	16.00
Members.....	0	0	0	66	82	234	0	99	481	..	481	80.17
Total.....	0	0	0	130	88	252	0	107	577	..	577	96.17
Grand Total....	58	20	43	201	160	346	56	177	1061	..	998	166.33

NOTE.—At the January meeting there were one hundred and twelve ladies present in the balcony to hear President-Elect Woodrow Wilson's address. Attendance of the ladies not included in above summary.*

Following is a comparison of the regularity of attendance by Members at the regular meetings of the two Club Years 1911-12 and 1912-13.

Number of Meetings Attended	1911-12 April Meeting, 1911, to March Meeting, 1912, both inclusive; Six Regular Meetings				1912-13 April Meeting, 1912, to March Meeting, 1913, both inclusive; Six Regular Meetings			
	Active	Asso- ciate	Non- Resid't	Retired	Active	Asso- ciate	Non- Resid't	Retired
0	3	3	14	4	1	4	12	4
1	5	3	2	1	6	1	2	1
2	14	3	0	0	9	3	0	0
3	16	1	0	0	9	4	1	0
4	25	0	0	0	21	2	0	0
5	18	1	0	1	26	2	0	0
6	12	1	0	0	14	2	0	1
Total attendance.....	343	23	2	6	349	49	5	7
Average.....	57.1	3.8	.3	1	58.1	8.1	.8	1.1

NOTE.—Member's total attendance included in the class in which he was listed at the close of the year. Attendance of members added to or removed from rolls during year not included. The Active Members who were absent from the regular meetings during the year submitted statements of reason for non-attendance acceptable under the Club's Articles of Association.

During the year 13 fines have been assessed for non-attendance of Members at regular meetings of the Club.

* See page 277.

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LUNCHEONS FOR SPECIAL GUESTS

Under the direction of the Executive Committee, luncheons were given at the Chicago Club by President Carr on December 14, 1912, to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the speaker at the December meeting, and on March 8, 1913, to Hon. Walter L. Fisher, the speaker at the March meeting.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Since taking office, the Executive Committee has held thirty meetings, with an average attendance of seven out of a membership of ten.

YEAR-BOOK

The Executive Committee has authorized the publication of a Year-Book, similar to the one of 1911-12.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Under the direction of the Executive Committee, the following pamphlets have been published and distributed during the year:

1. "Necessary Reformation in the System of State Taxation in Illinois:" Mr. John P. Wilson: Topic, "Why There is Urgent Need of Reform." Dr. Edmund J. James: Topic, "Fundamental Condition of Achieving Reform." Mr. Harrison B. Riley: Topic, "Necessary Changes in Administration to Secure Permanent Reform," being the addresses delivered at the November meeting of the Club.

2. "What is Progress in Politics?" by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President, Columbia University, an address delivered at the December meeting of the Club.

REPORT OF SECRETARY

COMMITTEES

In addition to the Executive Committee, the following standing committees are now in service:

Reception Committee (elective).

Committee on Revision of Illinois Taxation Laws.

Committee on Plan of Chicago.

Committee on a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago.

Committee on United States Government Posts.

Educational Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

WALTER B. SMITH, *Secretary*.

April 17, 1913.

REPORT OF TREASURER

APRIL 21, 1913

Credit, April 13, 1912 —

Balance in General Fund....	\$1,606.52	
Balance in Immigration Fund	100.22	
		<hr/>
		\$1,706.74
Deficit in Educational Fund..		985.16
		<hr/>
		\$721.58

RECEIPTS DURING YEAR

For General Fund —

Guests' Fees.....	\$4,350.00	
Members' Dues.....	8,250.00	
Fines (non-attendance).....	180.00	
Sale Six Volumes "Plan of Chicago".....	150.00	
Onwentsia Trip.....	50.00	
Miscellaneous Credits.....	75.00	
		<hr/>
		\$13,055.00

For Educational Fund —

Assessment, Feb. 8, 1912....	\$1,150.00	
Subscriptions.....	7,450.00	
Special Assessment, Feb. 26, 1913.....	5,500.00	
Sale Copies "Vocational Education".....	1.50	
Royalty.....	182.69	
Credit on Mr. Cooley's Trips.	450.20	
		<hr/>
		14,734.39
		<hr/>
		27,789.39
		<hr/>
		\$28,510.97

EXPENDITURES

From General Fund —

Onwentsia Trip.....	\$606.15
Printing, Stationery, etc....	807.53
Publication Year Book, 1911— 1912.....	758.20
Playground Prizes.....	200.00
Flowers.....	35.00
Reporting Meetings.....	162.50

REPORT OF TREASURER

Secretary's Expenses.....	\$610.35	
Previous Treasurer's Expenses.....	2.00	
Treasurer's Expenses.....	19.66	
Christmas Fund Contribution.....	25.00	
Banquets.....	8,732.16	
Entertainment of Guests and Speakers.....	698.51	
Engrossing Memorials.....	250.00	
Walter H. Wilson (to cover six "plans").....	150.00	
Miscellaneous.....	142.00	
	<hr/>	\$13,199.06

From Educational Fund —

Mr. Cooley's Salary and Expenses, Apr. 1, 1912-Apr. 1, 1913.....	\$9,892.22	
Mr. Cooley's Rent, May 1, 1912-May 1, 1913.....	780.00	
Legal Advice.....	250.00	
Printing and Mailing Mr. Cooley's Report (1,230 Copies).....	1,134.95	
Printing and Mailing "Vocational Education".....	1,442.87	
Printing and Mailing "Vocational Education in Wisconsin".....	346.50	
Chicago Association of Commerce.....	10.00	
	<hr/>	13,856.54

From Immigration Committee —

William L. Chenery, "Publicity".....	22.62	
	<hr/>	\$27,078.22
Balance in Bank.....		1,432.75

\$28,510.97

Balance in General Fund....	\$1,464.48
Balance to Immigration Committee.....	75.58
Deficit in Educational Fund..	107.31
	<hr/>
Bank Balance.....	1,432.75

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April 21, 1913 —

Due from Subscriptions to Educational Committee...	\$ 600.00	
Cash in Bank.....	1,432.75	
	<hr/>	
Total Balance Available..		\$2,032.75

The following bills are to be paid, and as bills are not in,
can only be approximated:

Memorial to Mr. Thies J. Lefens.....	50.00	
Annual Dinner To-night.....	600.00	
Printing Bills.....	70.00	
Printing Annual Report.....	80.00	
Publication of Address made by Secretary Walter L. Fisher.....	100.00	
Publication of Address made by President-Elect Woodrow Wilson.....	80.00	
	<hr/>	
		\$980.00
Balance.....		\$452.75

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

Your Committee on Plan of Chicago desires to report that during the past year its energy has been largely devoted to securing for Chicago the right to create the new park on the shores of Lake Michigan between Twelfth Street and Jackson Park.

The members of this Club will recall that by the terms of the Enabling Act of 1907, it was necessary that any trade made between the South Park Commissioners and the riparian rights owners should have the approval of a judge of the Circuit Court, in whose court its fairness could be questioned by any tax payer or legal voter of the district.

Accordingly, in June of last year a public hearing was had before Judge Honore, and after a full presentation of the case the contract entered into between the South Park Commissioners and the Illinois Central Railway Company was confirmed.

It is interesting to note that the views of our citizens had been so harmonized by amendments to the original draft of the contract that when the case came before the Court there were only three individuals who opposed the confirmation of the trade.

These three gentlemen have been consistently against a trade of any kind. They opposed the contract before the City Council; before Judge Honore; and since Judge Honore's decision, have appealed the case to the Supreme Court of Illinois.

The final step necessary for creating the park land was that of getting from the Secretary of War a permit to fill. Accordingly, on August eighth several members of this Club, accompanied by the Commissioner of Public Works of Chicago, made a trip to Washington, and as a result of their call upon the Secretary of War, a permit was secured

for filling park land between Twelfth and Sixteenth Streets, thus promptly providing for the location of the Field Museum. The permit for the remainder of the filling was withheld until a more complete investigation could be made.

Later in August a hearing was had before the local representative of the War Department, Colonel George A. Zinn, when, as before, the only opposition came from the three men previously referred to.

Again, on January fourteenth of this year, another hearing was had before Colonel Zinn, as a result of which — if we are correctly informed — a favorable report was made to the War Department with the recommendation that the permit for filling from Sixteenth Street to Jackson Park be granted. However, owing to the press of official business at the close of the last administration, Chicago's lake shore matter was not reached. It is now the intention of your Committee to lay our request before the new Secretary of War, when we shall hope to secure the necessary permit.

In the meantime, the work of filling in the Lake between Twelfth and Sixteenth Streets is well under way, and the completion of this undertaking will provide an ample tract for the site of the Field Museum.

Two other features of the Chicago Plan — the widening of Twelfth Street and the North and South Side connection, are being well cared for by the Chicago Plan Commission under the able leadership of Mr. Wacker.

The demands upon the drafting office of your committee in the past year have been heavier than had been expected, and the attending expenses correspondingly high. However, much of the work has been done at the instance of the Plan Commission, and has been paid for by that organization. This work, we believe, has been productive of great good, and will prove of far reaching influence in the establishing of a higher standard of artistic design as applied to the construction of bridges, viaducts, and other public works.

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

This brings us up to that part of our report concerning which our members have a right to be interested, if not somewhat concerned.

Your Committee realizes that the cost of its maintenance since the publication of its book, has been too large for the amount of work accomplished, but owing to the overhead expenses it has been found impossible to do the work we ought to do and keep the annual expenses below \$11,000. We have accordingly entered into an arrangement with Mr. Edward H. Bennett, architect of the Chicago Plan, for a flat yearly sum of \$7,500, whereby he is to maintain the office and drafting room, and pay all expenses thereof.

This means that with your approval the expenditures of your Committee for the year beginning March 1, 1913, will be \$7,500.

Herewith attached is a report of the Treasurer of your Committee covering the fiscal year ending March 1, 1913.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EDWARD B. BUTLER,

Chairman, Committee on Plan of Chicago.

Committee: EDWARD B. BUTLER, *Chairman*
JOHN W. SCOTT, *Vice-Chairman*
EMERSON B. TUTTLE, *Secretary*
WALTER H. WILSON, *Treasurer*
ALFRED COWLES
CHARLES H. HULBURD
JULIUS ROSENWALD
BERNARD E. SUNNY

April 5, 1913.

ADDENDUM

After submitting the above your Committee is pleased to report that the appeal to the Supreme Court of Illinois made by the gentlemen conducting the opposition was overruled on Tuesday, April 15th. The Court held that the matter had been finally adjudicated in the Circuit Court, and that

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

it could not be opened for review to the petitioners, who, the Court maintained, had no property rights; did not represent the public, and therefore, had no standing in Court.

April 16, 1913.

COMMERCIAL CLUB COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From March 1, 1912, to March 1, 1913

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand February 29, 1912.....	\$13,965.19
Interest on deposit.....	\$130.65
Interest on "Reserve" deposit.....	25.25
Books.....	412.00

REFUND

E. H. Bennett, Rent due from June 30, 1911, to Jan. 20, 1912	500.00
Chicago Plan Promotion Fund, to reimburse the "Plan Committee" for salaries paid to employees of E. H. Bennett's office for engineer- ing and architectural work for Chicago Plan Commission for years 1911-1912 to Nov. 1.....	3,115.90
	4,183.80
	<hr/> \$18,148.99

DISBURSEMENTS

Draughtsmen's & Artists' material.. \$	377.44
Salaries.....	11,028.26
Office expense & supplies.....	454.99
Postage.....	28.10
Rent.....	1,200.00
Printing & Stationery.....	23.70
Insurance.....	42.46
Traveling & general expenses.....	2.75
	<hr/> \$13,157.70
Cash on hand.....	\$4,991.29

April 5, 1913.

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT

COMMERCIAL CLUB COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF CHICAGO

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From March 1, 1913, to April 7, 1913

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand March 1, 1913.....	\$4,991.29
Books.....	\$ 25.00

REFUND

Chicago Plan Promotion Fund to reimburse the Commercial Club Plan of Chicago, for work from November 1, 1912, to March 1, 1913, for Plan Commission.....	4,161.44	4,186.44
		<hr/>
		\$9,177.73

DISBURSEMENTS

Draughtsmen's & Artists' material..	\$ 26.22	
Salaries.....	696.69	
Contract, E. H. Bennett, March....	625.00	
Contract, E. H. Bennett, April....	625.00	
Office expense & supplies.....	21.40	
Second Edition "Plan of Chicago"..	2,788.14	\$4,782.45
		<hr/>
Cash on hand.....		\$4,395.28

April 7, 1913.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF ILLINOIS TAXATION LAWS

At the suggestion of your Committee, the Executive Committee of the Club arranged a meeting to be devoted to the discussion of the necessary reforms in the system of state taxation in Illinois. The meeting was held November 9, 1912, to which were invited all of the Illinois state officers, members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. At this meeting Mr. John P. Wilson of Chicago, Dr. Edmund J. James, President, University of Illinois, and Mr. Harrison B. Riley delivered addresses, which have been printed in pamphlet form and distributed to State, County and City officials and members of the General Assembly of Illinois. Your Committee, in co-operation with representatives of the Association of Commerce, Chicago Real Estate Board, Citizens Association, Chicago Plan Commission, Civic Federation, Industrial Club and the Chicago Board of Trade, together with the Mayor, Corporation Council and members of the Finance Committee of the City Council, has had several conferences, at which the following plans for legislative action were agreed to and adopted:

WHEREAS, The present financial emergency of the City of Chicago is obviously due to an antiquated and impractical system of laws relating to the assessment, levy and distribution of taxes; therefore,

This Committee believes that relief should be provided by not only temporary but fundamental changes in the existing system, and, accordingly, approves and endorses the proposed constitutional amendment in reference to taxation in the State of Illinois, and endorses the proposed consolidation and tax levy bill for the City of Chicago substantially in accord with Charter Bill No. 1, as affording permanent remedies for the existing deplorable and unwork-

REVISION OF ILLINOIS TAXATION LAWS

able conditions; and also approves the proposed bond issue of \$2,880,000 by the City of Chicago to provide for the deficit of 1912; and further approves an amendment to the Juul law to afford relief in the meantime for the city's finances.

On January 29, 1913, Senator Juul introduced in the Senate Resolution No. 6, which was referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendment, reading as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate of the State of Illinois, the House of Representatives concurring herein; That an amendment to Article IX of the Constitution of this State be and the same is hereby proposed, as follows:

Resolved, That Article IX of the Constitution of this State be amended by adding thereto a section to be numbered and known as section 14, and reading as follows:

SEC. 14. From and after the date when this section shall be in force, the powers of the General Assembly over the subject matter of the taxation of personal property shall be as complete and unrestricted as they would be if Sections One (1), Three (3), Nine (9) and Ten (10) of this article of the Constitution did not exist; provided, however, that any tax levied upon personal property must be uniform as to persons and property of the same class within the jurisdiction of the body imposing the same, and all exemption from taxation shall be by general law and shall be revocable by the General Assembly at any time.

Resolved, further, That the said proposed amendment to Article IX of the Constitution shall be submitted to the electors of this State for adoption or rejection at the next election of members of the General Assembly in the manner now provided by law.

The Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendment held a public hearing Wednesday, March 19, 1913, at which meeting representatives were present from nearly all of the associations mentioned above. The merits of the proposed constitutional amendment were fully discussed, as well as the proposed constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. The Committee has not yet agreed upon

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

a report, but in view of the fact that on November 5, 1912, under the Public Policy Act, and as a proposed question of public policy, the proposition was submitted to a vote of the people and was carried by 541,189 in favor of, and but 187,467 against the proposition, we feel that this constitutional amendment should have the right of way before the legislature, and that the resolution should be adopted by both houses. What the General Assembly will finally do in this matter, however, is very difficult to predict.

Respectfully submitted,

BERNARD A. ECKHART, *Vice-Chairman.*

April 9, 1913.

Committee: MR. ADOLPHUS C. BARTLETT, *Chairman*
MR. BERNARD A. ECKHART, *Vice-Chairman*
MR. VICTOR F. LAWSON
MR. CYRUS H. McCORMICK
MR. HARRISON B. RILEY
MR. A. A. SPRAGUE, II
MR. FREDERIC W. UPHAM
MR. WALTER H. WILSON

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

The Federal Immigration Station Committee of the Commercial Club is pleased to report that for the past four years it has worked in co-operation with the officers of the Immigrants Protective League of Chicago in its efforts at Washington through the Department of Commerce and Labor to effect the establishment of such a station in Chicago.

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor in his report to the 62nd Congress recommended that the sum of \$75,000 be appropriated for the establishment of a Federal Immigration Station in Chicago. To make such an appropriation possible a Bill was drawn by Professor Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago, and was presented on the floor of the House by Congressman A. J. Sabath. This Bill was passed without amendment on the 16th of December, 1912, by the House of Representatives. The Bill was then referred to the Senate early in January, where it was followed by your Committee in person and by letters to the Immigration Committee of the Senate. It was amended by the Senate and passed on January 21, 1913. The Bill is as follows:

H. R. 21220-62nd Congress, 3rd Session:

An act to extend the power of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that for the purpose of making effective the power of establishing rules and regulations for protecting the United States and aliens migrating thereto from fraud and loss, conferred upon the Commissioner-General of Immigration, subject to the direction and with the approval of the Secretary of Com-

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

merce and Labor, by section twenty-two of an Act entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall establish and maintain immigrant stations at such interior places as may be necessary, and, in the discretion of the said Secretary, aliens in transit from ports of landing to such interior stations shall be accompanied by immigrant inspectors: Provided, that nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commissioner-General of Immigration to pay the cost of transportation of any arriving alien.

Sec. 2. That for the establishment and maintenance of such a station in the city of Chicago for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fourteen, there is hereby authorized, from moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars. which shall be expended in such manner consistent with the purposes hereof as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may direct.

Passed the House of Representatives, December 16, 1912,
Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE, Clerk.

The House accepted the Bill as amended by the Senate and passed it without opposition. It was signed by the President, William H. Taft, just previous to his retirement from office on the 4th of March, 1913.

The Commercial Club is deeply indebted to the individual members of the Immigration Committee of the Senate and of the House of Representatives for their great personal interest in the efficacy of the measure, whose scope is not in any way confined to the City of Chicago, but will become far-reaching in its effects, as it may be extended after the first year to such other cities as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may direct. Under its provisions, also, trains carrying immigrants from ports of entry to the interior may in future be under the personal supervision of federal officers, and further exploitations and frauds practiced upon our incoming citizens must cease.

FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

This Committee and the Commercial Club recognizes its obligation to Professor Freund for having drafted the Bill, and to Congressman A. J. Sabath of Illinois for having presented the Bill to Congress. It also acknowledges its obligation to the Congressmen of Illinois for their hearty co-operation in its passage.

Your Committee has had the honor of entertaining in Chicago at luncheon, Senator Dillingham of Vermont, who is a member of the Senate Immigration Committee, together with all of the Illinois members of the House of Representatives who were at that time in the City. Several meetings of the Committee have been held in Chicago and members of the Committee have visited Washington in the interest of the work at different times.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN E. WILDER, *Chairman.*

Committee: JOHN E. WILDER, *Chairman*
 ALBERT B. DICK
 BERNARD A. ECKHART
 ALEXANDER A. McCORMICK
 ALLEN B. POND

FINANCIAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON A FEDERAL IMMIGRATION STATION IN CHICAGO

	Appropriation Nov. 21, 1910.....	\$500.00
1909		
Feb. 28	Telegram from C. D. Norton.....	\$ 0.71
	Telegram to Senator Dillingham.....	1.31
1910		
Jan. 5	29 Page Circular.....	<u>23.85</u>
1911		
Apr. 8	Balance to Immigration Committee	
	Credit.....	474.13
May 22	Telegram to D. R. Forgan.....	\$ 2.40
May 27	Wilder & Co. for telegram.....	5.06
May 25	Expenses of A. A. McCormick and J.	
	E. Wilder to Washington and return	161.90
Nov. 9	Luncheon at Union League Club.....	37.75
Feb. 15	A. A. McCormick Expenses.....	80.00

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

1912			
Jan. 2	Typewriting.....	\$ 6.00	
Jan. 2	Miscellaneous payments to April 13, 1912.....	82.82	
Apr. 13	Balance to Immigration Committee Credit.....		\$98.20
1913			
Mar. 25	W. L. Chenery for Publicity work....	\$22.62	
Apr. 25	Balance to Immigration Committee Credit.....		75.58

REPORT OF EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Educational Committee has during the past year had published in book form the report of Dr. Cooley, which constituted a part of the Committee's report of a year ago. About 2,000 copies of this book (*Vocational Education in Europe*) have been distributed among state superintendents of public schools, school principals in the larger cities, colleges, universities, city libraries, members of the state legislature, and business men. Arrangements for the sale of the book were made with A. C. McClurg & Co. and there is still a steady demand for it. The work has been favorably reviewed by leading educational journals of this country and Europe, among them being *Vocational Education*, the *New England Journal of Education*, and the *Zeitschrift für Gewerbliche Unterricht*, the organ of the technical teachers of Germany. The review in the last named covered over two pages and was the leading article in a recent number of that journal. Favorable reviews and press notices were also published in the leading daily papers of Chicago, St. Louis, Boston and other cities.

There have been other publications in pamphlet form as follows:

"The Need of Vocational Schools in the United States—a Statement." By Dr. Cooley.

"Proposed Law for Establishing a System of Vocational Schools for Illinois."

"Vocational Education in Wisconsin," a series of articles prepared for the *Chicago Record-Herald* by Arthur M. Evans.

"Vocational Education," an address by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University.

These pamphlets have been widely distributed through-

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

out the country, 1,500 of each having been taken by the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. Altogether about 3,000 of each have been sent out.

"The Need of Vocational Schools in the United States" has been published in the *Educational Review* and an abridgment of it will soon appear in the *Ladies Home Journal*.

The "Proposed Law" has been used as a text book by the Schools of Education in the Universities of Illinois and Indiana, in the Columbia University, and other schools.

President Butler's address was delivered at a luncheon given by President Carr under the direction of the Executive Committee, and we quote from it the following:

It is very like carrying coals to Newcastle to come to the Commercial Club of Chicago and talk about vocational education, because you gentlemen, through the work of your committee and through the reports of Mr. Cooley, have established a reputation, that we are all glad to recognize, as among the first authorities on this subject, and as the leaders in this country of organized effort to solve a really pressing public question.

* * * * *

It should be clearly understood from the outset that it affects the employing class by providing them with better trained workmen and that it affects the employed class by raising the standard of skilled labor and thereby assuring, under a well-known law of economics, an increasing remuneration for skilled work. If you can draw into this movement representatives of these two classes, and if you will conceive of it not simply—or rather not at all—as one to establish a new type of school, not as an attempt to put something new by the side of the high school or the business college or the technical school; but rather as a distinct and conscious effort on the part of organized society to go out and deal with the question of unskilled, untrained, unadapted labor, you will do this country a great and lasting service.

During the year Dr. Cooley has visited the industrial

REPORT OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

schools in New York City; Rochester, New York; Springfield, Hadley, Northampton, Worcester, Beverly, Newton, Boston in Massachusetts; Cincinnati, Ohio; Philadelphia and Williamson in Pennsylvania. In response to calls for conferences and addresses, he has attended many meetings devoted to discussion of vocational education. He has addressed over twenty different organizations in Chicago, among them the Teachers' Club at the University of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Chicago Association of Credit Men, the Metal Workers' Association, the Rotary Club, Committee of Illinois Manufacturers' Association, Jewelers' Club, People's Liberal Church (Universalist), the Luther Club, Social Service Club, and Western Economic Association.

Outside of the city Dr. Cooley has made addresses at Springfield, Peoria, Moline, Galesburg, Highland Park, Joliet, LaGrange, Aurora, Rockford, Wheaton, Canton and Oak Park, Illinois; Indianapolis in Indiana; Cincinnati, Ohio; Grand Rapids, Jackson and Lansing in Michigan; St. Louis, Missouri; Rochester, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; Minneapolis and St. Paul (seven addresses), Minnesota; Atlantic City, New Jersey; Appleton, Wisconsin; Clinton (two addresses), Des Moines (two addresses) and Waukon, Iowa. In Des Moines one of the addresses was at a joint session of the Iowa State Legislature, in accordance with concurrent resolution duly adopted. We quote from their *Journal of the House* of March 6, 1913:

"Senator DeWolf of Blackhawk moved that the remarks of Professor Cooley be printed in the *Journal*, and that the Legislature of Iowa in joint session extend to Professor Cooley thanks for his presence and address, and also express to him sympathy and encouragement in the great fight he is making to make education mean opportunity for the boys and girls of our neighboring state of Illinois."

We also quote from letter of March 26, 1913, from Wallace G. Nye, Mayor of Minneapolis:

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

I had the great pleasure a few days ago to listen to an address by Professor Cooley of the Chicago Commercial Club, on the subject of "Educational Training," that ought to be, in his judgment, in our public schools. Some four hundred men listened to the address and were wonderfully impressed by his facts and his logic.

I am sure that his message was of great value to our people and that many of his suggestions will be adopted as soon as possible as features of our school system.

The Commercial Club of Chicago is doing a splendid work in enabling Mr. Cooley to secure the information which he has obtained and in giving him the opportunity to spread that information for the benefit of other cities.

In Philadelphia two addresses were delivered before the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, and at this meeting Dr. Cooley was appointed on committee to formulate plans for state legislation to establish vocational education.

As a result of the addresses and discussions in Illinois, many organizations have passed resolutions endorsing the undertaking of the Commercial Club and agreeing to co-operate with the Club in an effort to establish vocational education in Illinois through legislative enactment. Among these are the Teachers of the Military Tract, the Chicago Association of Commerce, Jewelers' Association, Civic Federation of Chicago, Illinois Manufacturers' Association, Metal Workers' Association, Boxmakers' Association, and the Fox River Manufacturers' Association.

Under date of February 5th, Dr. Van Hise, President of the University of Wisconsin, by invitation of the Educational Committee, addressed the Chicago Association of Commerce on the establishment of vocational schools in Wisconsin and the result after a trial of eighteen months.

The recent report of a Swedish commission on industrial education should give encouragement to the Commercial Club in its efforts to promote the cause of vocational training. This commission was appointed in 1907 to investigate

REPORT OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

the schools of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, England, the United States and Denmark. This investigation was concluded in 1912, and a very comprehensive report in three volumes has just been published. They discuss the organization of continuation schools, full-time trade schools and preparatory vocational schools, taking substantially the same ground as that taken by the Commercial Club. In their report the superiority of the German organization is conceded and their recommendations follow Germany's plan closely. Their conclusion is for an independent direction of these schools under State supervision through the Department of Commerce, Industry and Naval Affairs.

In the preparation of the "Proposed Law for Establishing a System of Vocational Schools for Illinois," previously referred to, we had the active co-operation and approval of the educational committees of the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Civic Federation of Chicago and the Hamilton Club of Chicago. The purpose in the preparation and distribution of this pamphlet was to secure such criticism and suggestions as would aid in the framing of a bill for presentation to the legislature which would not only meet the needs of vocational training as nearly as they could be discerned in advance, but which would not be subject to the delay frequently occasioned by argument and amendment. It would make too long a story to tell in detail of the suggestions and criticisms received by letter, and it is assumed that most of the Club members are familiar with the discussions of this proposed law in the daily press. We will just conclude by saying that, after careful consideration and exhaustive review of all these, final draft of bill has been drawn and is now pending in the legislature. (See page 279.) A copy of the bill is submitted as a part of this report. Its sum and substance is set forth in the following Statement of Principles:

Definition: Vocational education includes all forms of specialized education, the controlling purposes of which are to fit for useful occupations, whether in agriculture, commerce, industry or the household arts.

1. State aid is necessary to stimulate and encourage communities to carry on work in vocational education, but local communities should be permitted to initiate and should partly maintain such courses or schools.

2. The vocational schools should not compete nor interfere with the present public school system, but should supplement it by providing practical instruction in vocational lines for youth between fourteen and eighteen who have left the present schools. To guard against any competition with the public schools as now organized, a special tax should be levied for their support, which, with the state grant for their support, should not be taken from the funds now provided by law for the support of the public school system.

3. The proper expenditure of state moneys for vocational schools should be fully safe-guarded, while at the same time the initiative in adapting measures to local conditions should be left with the local authorities. To secure these ends, the general management and approval of these courses and schools should be left to a state commission, while the local initiative and direct control should be exercised by a local board composed of employers, skilled employees and educators.

4. An efficient system of vocational education requires different methods of administration, different courses of study, different qualifications of teachers, different equipment, different ways of meeting the needs of pupils, and much greater flexibility in adapting means to ends than is possible under the ordinary system of public schools administration. For these reasons, these schools should be under a separate board of control, whether carried on in a separate building or under the same roof with a general school, so that they may be free to realize their dominant purpose of fitting for useful employment.

It might be well to say here that, while the need of vocational education is universally conceded and interest in the

REPORT OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

subject is actively manifested in every direction, there is a difference of opinion as to the way of providing for it. Educators (with some notable exceptions) maintain that it should be developed within the present public school system. Those who realize more fully the lack of effective vocational training (employers of labor and workers themselves, for instance) feel that such development would naturally result in the domination of the present academic order. They believe that the academic and the practical should be co-ordinate and that true co-ordination can be assured only through separate administrative organization, each supplementing the other—neither dominating—and both subject to the state. This honest difference of opinion has, if anything, been more acute in Illinois than elsewhere. Dr. Cooley was commissioned to investigate Germany's plan because she has established industrial education, and it was thought we might profit by her experience and avoid needless expenditure of time and money. After this investigation, and a very careful review of our own conditions, we are convinced that the design of both the academic and vocational school can be best carried out by separate management. Our purpose, therefore, in drawing a bill with this provision is not to break down our present splendid public school system, as some seem to think, but to so broaden and deepen its scope as to meet the demands of to-day. And this is simply progressing according to the principal on which the public school system was founded. We quote again from Dr. Butler:

We have had a good deal of experience with this matter of educational administration at home and abroad, and it has been pretty well established that for a new and far-reaching undertaking it is advisable to establish a new and directly responsible administrative agency. * * * We never could have built up the great schools of science in this country if we had insisted in always starting them in connection with literary colleges.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

For the lively interest and hearty co-operation of the other organizations named herein we wish to record our appreciation and indebtedness.

As the work of the year is reviewed, we feel justified in the statement that the undertaking of the Commercial Club has hastened by many years the movement for the establishment of vocational schools as a part of our public educational system, not alone in Illinois but throughout the country. There is every encouragement for the Club to continue its activity in this direction until education is made to "mean opportunity."

Respectfully submitted,

CLAYTON MARK, *Chairman.*

April 15, 1913.

Committee: CLAYTON MARK, *Chairman*

FRANK H. ARMSTRONG

ALFRED L. BAKER

EDGAR A. BANCROFT

BENJAMIN CARPENTER

EDWARD F. CARRY

HENRY B. FAVILL

WILLIAM A. GARDNER

CHARLES H. MARKHAM

ALLEN B. POND

THEODORE W. ROBINSON

HOMER A. STILLWELL

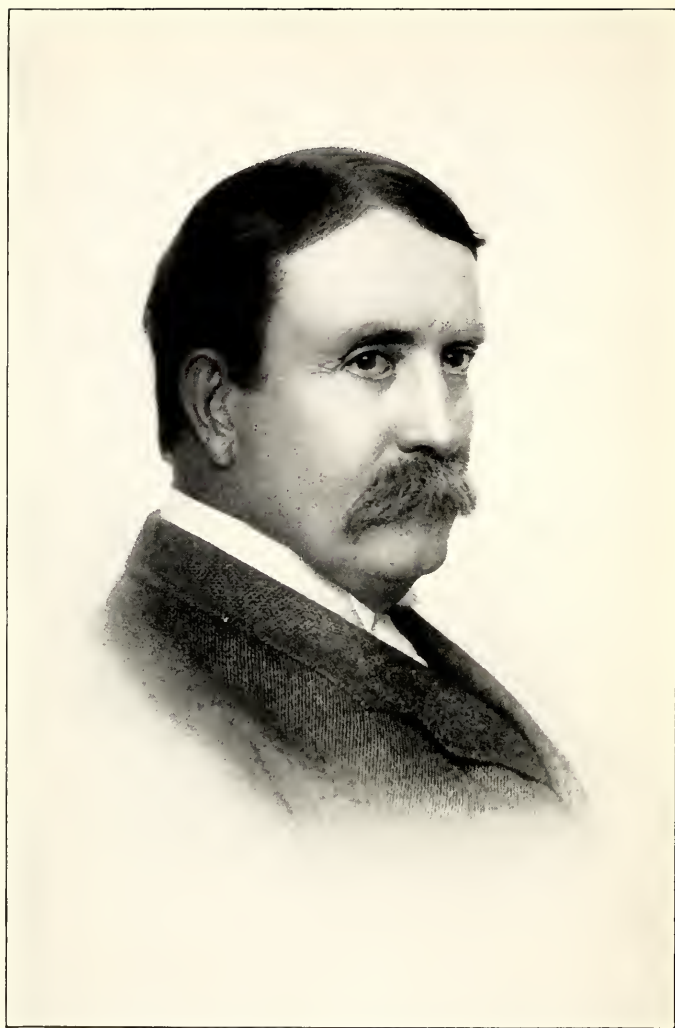
HARRY A. WHEELER

Necrology
Club Year 1912-1913

The Commercial Club of Chicago

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED 1877
THE MERCHANTS CLUB, ORGANIZED 1896
UNITED 1907

THE
JOHN CREER
LIBRARY



DANIEL HUDSON BURNHAM

DANIEL HUDSON BURNHAM

JUNE 1, 1912

*Resolution adopted at the Two Hundred and Twenty-seventh
Regular Meeting, December 14, 1912.*

In the death of Daniel Hudson Burnham the Commercial Club has lost one of its most distinguished members and his club associates a valued and loyal friend.

For more than thirty years Mr. Burnham was a leader in all movements toward a better Chicago. But his genius was too great to be limited to the confines of any one city. He belonged to the nation and ever will rank among our great Americans.

Daniel Burnham was a man of vision. He saw things in a large way, leaving details to others.

To him came the vision of a city of white palaces, and it is largely due to his genius that Chicago is to-day renowned for creating the most artistic of the world's expositions. It was his instinct for harmony and his gift of leadership which brought about so ardent a spirit of co-operation that the designs of the many architects were made to blend into one sublime and harmonious whole.

At great personal sacrifice, he gave up his private practice during three years of Fair building. He thus made possible the opening of the gates on the appointed day, in spite of difficulties that would have disheartened another man.

He was a leader in the movement for town planning. His genius gave inspiration to plans for many cities. Finally, he was the creator of the Commercial Club Plan of

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

Chicago, which is destined to become an everlasting monument to his memory. To this plan he devoted three years of his time, and, what is known to but few members of the Club, he personally contributed a considerable portion of the cost of its creation.

Daniel Burnham's dream of a great white city became a splendid reality. His more glorious vision of a beautiful Chicago will yet be realized, and each step taken toward carrying out the Plan will be an added tribute to the memory of this great man.

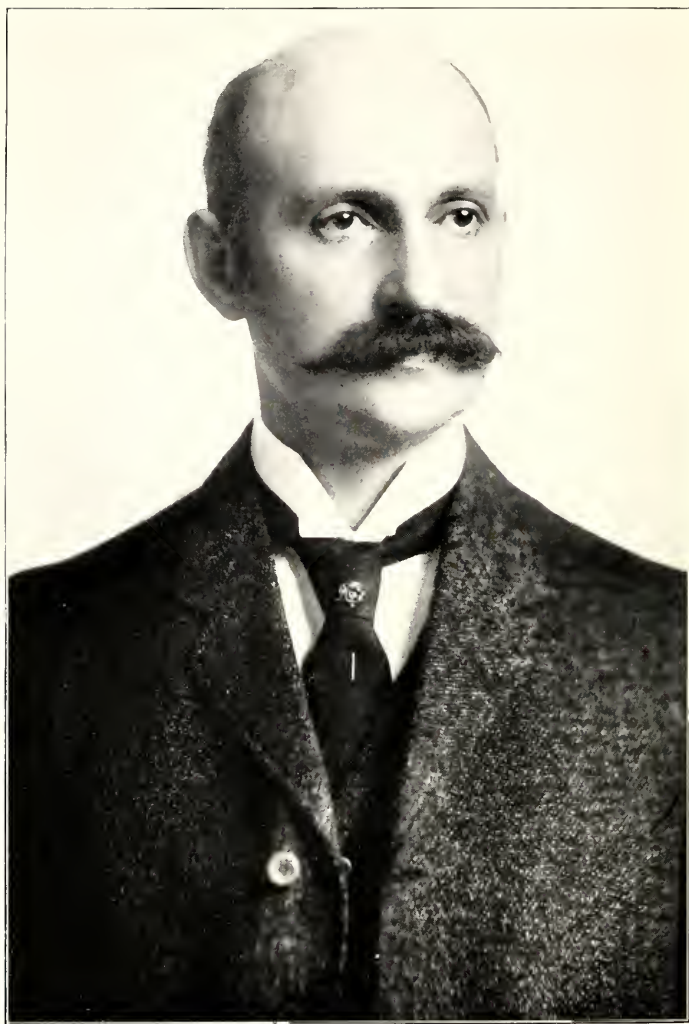
EDWARD B. BUTLER, *Chairman.*

WILLIAM L. BROWN

EDWARD P. RIPLEY

Special Committee on Resolution.

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ARTHUR DANA WHEELER

██████████
ARTHUR DANA WHEELER

AUGUST 29, 1912
██████████

*Resolution adopted at the Two Hundred and Twenty-seventh
Regular Meeting, December 14, 1912.*

To the memory of Arthur Dana Wheeler, the Commercial Club of Chicago offers this tribute of esteem and affectionate remembrance.

Mr. Wheeler was born in Kenosha, March 2, 1861.

He was educated at the public schools and later attended the Lake Forest Academy and College. Upon the completion of his studies he spent a year in the West, and on returning in the summer of 1882 he entered the law office of Williams & Thompson as a student. He subsequently graduated from the old Union College of Law, and was admitted to the bar in 1884.

Two years later, on the day of his marriage to Miss Anna Holt of Lake Forest, Messrs. Williams & Thompson admitted him to membership in the firm.

After the death of General John L. Thompson, in 1889, the firm name was changed to Williams, Holt & Wheeler. Later, upon the death of Mr. Norman Williams, in 1899, the firm became Holt, Wheeler & Sidley.

Mr. Wheeler's knowledge of the law and his unflinching integrity won for him the high regard of his colleagues at the Chicago bar, and the personal friendship of a large number of citizens throughout the West.

Mr. Wheeler served for several years as a director of the Chicago Telephone Company, and in 1903 was elected to

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

the presidency, which office he filled for a period of five years with marked ability and distinction.

He had meanwhile retained his connection with the law firm, and upon his resignation as president of the telephone company, and election to the chairmanship of its board of directors in 1908, he returned to the active practice of his profession and continued therein up to the time of his death.

During the last few years of his life, his work was chiefly as office counsel, dealing with railroad and corporate affairs. Of commercial and civic problems his grasp was clear, and to their solution he brought the conclusive reasoning that distinguished his management of legal contests.

Aside from the professional, there was another, a gentler, side to his nature, which displayed itself in his social, religious, and home life. Losing his father in infancy, his early years were passed in close and loving intimacy with his mother, Kate Deming Wheeler, whose rare accomplishments and beautiful character influenced him throughout youth and manhood. He was endeared to neighbors and friends, and he scorned to attain at the expense of others, but rather he lived the tenet: "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

A man of strong religious convictions, for many years he was a member of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, where he taught a bible class for young men.

The Young Men's Christian Association received his aid and counsel, and he was especially interested in the Association Training School.

He was also an active member of the board of managers of the Presbyterian Hospital.

In the community in which he made his home, Mr. Wheeler took an active interest in public affairs, as he did in the larger matters pertaining to Chicago's civic welfare.

To us whose privilege it has been to know him as a

NECROLOGY

friend and an associate, and serve with him in promoting civic and humanitarian interests, his death brings a keen sense of personal loss. Although we realize that he has gone from us in the fullness of his manhood, there is a consolation that comes with the knowledge that he fought a good fight, that he kept the faith, and now, though he has stepped beyond the veil, his influence and his work are written in the hearts of men.

To his widow and children, the Club extends its sincere sympathy in their affliction.

B. E. SUNNY, *Chairman.*

CYRUS H. McCORMICK

BYRON L. SMITH

Special Committee on Resolutions.

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THIES JACOB LEFENS

THIES JACOB LEFENS

APRIL 14, 1913

Resolution adopted at the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting, April 25, 1913.

Thies Jacob Lefens departed this life on the fourteenth day of April, 1913. For a long period of years he was one of the prominent men of affairs of our city, largely interested in industrial, financial, transportation, and other enterprises. Almost universally successful, his success was due rather to thorough application and careful study of the problems confronting him than to speculative daring or risky ventures.

In all his business relations he practiced the strictest integrity. He accorded and exacted careful compliance with every business obligation. His apparent sternness was but the outward garb of his firmness of honorable purpose. He was ever ready to assist the deserving, but refused to countenance shiftlessness, profligacy, or lack of thorough honesty.

He believed in Chicago and its great destiny, took an active interest in the promotion and management of the World's Columbian Exposition and other important public events, and was for many years a loyal member of the Commercial Club and a supporter of its activities for the public weal. He possessed the firmness and virtue to maintain in all his relations of life what the father of our country termed the most enviable of titles—the character of an honest man.

He was unusually endowed by nature both mentally and physically. He was a devoted husband and father,

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and will be missed and mourned, not only by his home, where he was blessed beyond the experiences of most men, but also by his business associates and friends.

In tribute to the memory of our departed associate, the Commercial Club of Chicago resolves to spread this minute of our appreciation of his life and work upon its official records and to transmit a copy thereof to his family.

CHARLES H. WACKER, *Chairman.*

EDMUND D. HULBERT

CLARENCE BUCKINGHAM

The line in the original report of April 25, 1913, read as follows:

“There were no special meetings held during the year.”

The table in the original report of April 25, 1913, was printed as follows:

A number of corrections have since been made.

	Annual Meeting April 13, 1912	Onwentsia Trip June 25, 1912	Regular Meeting November 9, 1912	Regular Meeting December 14, 1912	Regular Meeting January 11, 1913	Regular Meeting February 8, 1913	Regular Meeting March 8, 1913	Total All Meetings	Average All Meetings	Total Regular Meetings	Average Regular Meetings
Members:											
Active.....	51	40	61	58	77	48	60	395	56.43	355	59.17
Associate.....	5	7	9	11	14	7	8	61	8.72	54	9.00
Non-resident.....	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	5	.71	5	.83
Retired.....	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	7	1.00	7	1.16
Total.....	58	47	71	72	94	56	70	468	66.86	421	70.16
Guests:											
Club.....	0	0	64	6	18	0	8	96	..	..	16.00
Members.....	0	0	66	82	234	0	99	481	..	..	80.17
Total.....	0	0	130	88	252	0	107	577	..	..	96.17
Grand Total.....	58	47	201	160	346	56	177	1045	..	..	166.33

A BILL
FOR AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE COMMUNITIES
TO ESTABLISH VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS
IN ILLINOIS

Prepared and approved by the Commercial Club of Chicago,
the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Civic Federation of
Chicago and the Educational Committee of the Hamilton Club
of Chicago

L. Be it Enacted by the People of the State of Illinois Represented in the General Assembly:—

That a State Board which shall be styled “State Board of Vocational Education” is hereby created which shall consist of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Dean of the Agricultural Department of the University of Illinois or his successor in office, and three persons nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate, one of whom shall be an engineer, either mechanical, civil or electrical, in actual practice, and who has a degree as such engineer from a college, university or technical school of first class standing, one an employer of labor and one a skilled industrial, commercial or agricultural employee, who shall be charged with the duty of carrying into effect the provisions of this act.

2. Said State Board shall serve without compensation, but shall receive their personal and traveling expenses and the sum of ten dollars per day while in performance of their duties as members of the State Board. They shall have power to appoint and fix the salary of a secretary who shall perform such duties as they shall assign to him, and to appoint and fix the salaries of such other officers and employees as are necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of said Board. All moneys appropriated for said Board shall be paid out of the State Treasury only upon the order of the chairman of said Board.

3. It shall be the duty of said Board to have general

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charge of all schools of the State which may be organized under the provisions of this act, and subject to the provisions of this act said Board shall have power—

To establish rules and regulations governing the management and operation of such schools and for the transaction of its own business.

To prescribe the qualifications and duties of teachers and provide for their examination, certification and removal for cause.

To ascertain and certify annually to the State Treasurer the amount of state aid to which any municipality is entitled under the provisions of this act.

To approve the course of study which shall be pursued in the various classes of schools established under the provisions of this act; provided that the courses of study shall be closely related to the commercial, agricultural, and industrial interests of the respective communities in which such schools are located, and shall include instruction as to the rights and duties of citizenship.

To file all papers, reports and public documents transmitted to it by the local boards of vocational education created under the provisions of this act and to keep and preserve all other documents relating to vocational education and coming into its hands.

To supervise all schools established under the provisions of this act.

To counsel and confer in such manner as the members may deem best with teachers, school officers, employers and employees as to the best methods of conducting schools established under the provisions of this act.

To advise and assist local boards of vocational education as to the best methods of carrying into effect the purposes of this act.

To visit schools established under the provisions of this act, to examine their facilities for vocational education, and to prescribe forms for such reports as it may require from local boards of vocational education.

To employ and fix the salaries of such number of, not exceeding one hundred, itinerant instructors as they may deem necessary for the improvement and scientific development of the agricultural interests of the State. Such

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

instructors shall be persons who are proficient in the branches of knowledge which have a direct application to the efficient management of the farm and shall devote their entire time to giving lectures, demonstrations, and to the promotion of such other educational measures as the Board shall adopt for the benefit of the agricultural interests of the State.

To report to the legislature during the month of January in each year and make such recommendations as it may deem proper for increasing the efficiency of the system of vocational education established by this act.

4. Whenever any city or community having adopted this act shall establish one or more schools under its provisions, such city or community shall be entitled to receive annually from the State in aid of such school or schools, as long as such school or schools shall be approved by the State Board of Vocational Education, an amount equal to one-half of the operating expenses of such school or schools, and the amount of such State aid is hereby made a charge against the State of Illinois, and shall, upon the recommendation of the State Board of Vocational Education, be paid annually to the treasurer of such city or community upon the warrant of the auditor of public accounts out of any money in the treasury appropriated for such purpose. No State aid shall be given for schools established under the provisions of this act unless such schools are approved by the State Board of Vocational Education as to organization, location, equipment, courses of study, qualification of teachers, methods of instruction, conditions of admission, employment of pupils and expenditure of money raised by taxation.

5. In any city in this State having a population of over 10,000 inhabitants which shall adopt this act as hereinafter provided there shall be a Board of Vocational Education which shall consist of five (5) members to be selected as follows:

The Superintendent of Schools of such city or village shall be a member *ex officio* of said Board and four members, two of whom shall be employers of labor and two of whom shall be skilled industrial, commercial or agricultural employees, shall be appointed by the Mayor, by and with the advice and consent of the city council of such city, or

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commissioners thereof in case such city is under the commission form of government, within twenty days after the adoption of this act by such city. Two of the four members so appointed shall hold their respective offices for the term of two years and two of said members so appointed shall hold their respective offices for the term of four years, from the first day of May in the year of their appointment and until their successors are appointed and qualified, and every two years thereafter the Mayor of such city, by and with the advice and consent of said City Council or Commissioners, shall appoint as members of said Board of Vocational Education two persons who shall hold their respective offices for the term of four years from the first day of May in the year of their appointment and until their successors are appointed and qualified. Three members of said Board shall constitute a quorum. All appointments to said Board shall be so made that at all times two members thereof shall be employers of labor and two members thereof shall be skilled industrial, commercial or agricultural employees. Each member before entering upon the duties of his office shall take the oath prescribed by the constitution of this State. A person to be eligible for appointment must have been a resident of the city more than one year next preceding his appointment.

6. The Board of Vocational Education shall appoint one of its members a chairman and shall also appoint a secretary and such other officers and employees as it shall deem necessary and shall prescribe their duties, compensation and term of office. Said Board shall prescribe rules necessary to carry out the purposes of this act. Said Board shall provide books in which shall be kept a faithful record of all its proceedings. The yeas and nays shall be taken and recorded upon all questions involving the expenditure of money. The members of said Board shall serve without compensation.

7. Subject to the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of said Board to establish vocational schools, including schools for teaching household arts, of either or all of the following types or classes, to wit:

a. Vocational continuation day schools for youth of both sexes between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years who

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are employed or are not pupils in other schools, at which vocational schools such instruction shall be given as will render more efficient the practical work of the factory, shop, store, office or farm. Attendance at such schools shall be compulsory upon all such youth for 240 hours in each year.

b. Vocational evening schools for pupils over eighteen years of age at which schools such instruction shall be given as will supplement and rationalize the practical experiences of the factory, shop, store, office or farm. Attendance at such schools shall be voluntary.

c. Vocational continuation day schools for apprentices, clerks and servants between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years of age, attendance at which shall be compulsory upon all such youth who are bound as apprentices, clerks or servants under the statute in such case made and provided. At these schools instruction shall be given with a view to teaching the entire trade or vocation at which such apprentices, clerks, or servants are employed, for not less than six hours per week, during the entire term of such apprenticeship.

d. Part-time schools for youth between fourteen and eighteen years, the pupils of which will spend alternate weeks in shop, factory, store or office or other place of employment and at the schools at which instruction shall be given with a view to supplementing and rendering effective the work of the pupils in their respective employments. Teachers at these schools may be permitted to supplement the school work by giving practical aid and advice to the pupils and their employers at the respective places of employment of such pupils.

e. Vocational day schools for the industrial, commercial or agricultural instruction and for the instruction in domestic service of youth between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. At these schools instruction shall be given with a view to the vocational preparation of the youth of both sexes who expect to commence industrial, commercial, agricultural or domestic service at the age of sixteen years, and shall include instruction to girls in women's trades, commerce and the household arts, and to boys in agricultural, commercial, industrial and mechanical subjects. Youth employed upon farms shall not be required to attend

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such schools except during the months of November, December, January, February and March, but the technical or special teachers of subjects pertaining to agriculture may be employed for ten months in each year, of which period five months' service shall be in the schools and five months' service on the farms in the municipality or community supporting the school, giving lectures and demonstrations and promoting such other educational measures as the Board shall determine to be for the benefit of the agricultural interests of the community.

f. Schools which shall provide in one institution for the instruction required in any two or more of the above mentioned types of schools.

8. The Board of Vocational Education shall have charge and control of all schools which may be established under the provisions of this act and shall have power, with the concurrence of the city council, or mayor and commissioners of the city—

First: To buy or lease sites for such schools with the necessary grounds. If the Boards shall be unable to agree with the owner or owners for the purchase of any such site, then with the concurrence of the city council or mayor and commissioners it may acquire the title to any such site in the manner provided by law for the exercise of the right of eminent domain. Such proceedings to condemn shall be in the name of the city for the use of the board of vocational education of such city.

Second: To erect or purchase buildings suitable for the use of such vocational schools as are hereinbefore mentioned and keep the same in repair.

9. The said Board of Vocational Education shall have power and it shall be its duty—

First: To hire buildings or rooms when needed for the use of schools established under this act and for its own use.

Second: To furnish such schools with the necessary fixtures, furniture, tools, machinery and apparatus.

Third: To employ teachers and fix their compensation, and to examine teachers by examination supplemental to the examination of the state board of vocational education if such supplemental examinations seem necessary, but no person shall be employed as such teacher who does not hold

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the certificate of qualification of said State Board of Vocational Education.

Fourth: Subject to the control of said Board to prescribe the text books to be used and the studies to be pursued in the schools established under this act and to apportion and assign pupils to said schools.

Fifth: To exercise such authority as may be necessary for the proper management of said schools and to enact such rules as may be necessary or expedient for that purpose.

Sixth: To expel any pupil guilty of gross disobedience or misconduct and to dismiss and remove any teacher for cause whenever in the judgment of said Board such action is essential to the best interests of the school.

Seventh: To grant the use of school buildings or any part thereof, when not otherwise needed, including light, heat and attendants, for public lectures, concerts, and other educational and social interests free of cost, but subject at all times to the control of said Board.

Eighth: To superintend and control said schools and to have charge of all land, buildings, fixtures and personal property purchased or hired under this act, and see that the same are kept in good condition.

Ninth: To provide fuel and other necessary supplies for said schools and buildings.

Tenth: To report to the city council, or mayor and commissioners, and to the State board of vocational education from time to time any suggestions they may deem advisable in relation to said schools and their management.

Eleventh: To prepare and publish an annual report showing its receipts and expenditures and the workings and results of the schools under its care.

Twelfth: To make such reports from time to time to the state board of vocational education and to the city council, or Mayor and Commissioners, as they may require respectively.

Thirteenth: To certify annually to the city council, or to the Mayor and Commissioners in cities having the commission form of government, within the time required by law such amounts as shall be necessary for the maintenance of the schools established under this act.

10. None of the powers conferred upon the board of

vocational education of such city shall be exercised except at a regular meeting of the Board.

11. All conveyances of real estate shall be made to, and the title to all property acquired by condemnation shall be vested in, the city in trust for the use of the board of vocational education of such city and no sale of real estate acquired under this act shall be made by the city government except upon the written request of the board of vocational education. Whenever any real estate acquired under the provisions of this act shall in the judgment of said board of vocational education be unnecessary or unsuitable for the purpose for which it was acquired, such property shall be discharged from the trusts herein imposed and shall become the property of the city free from any claim in favor of said board.

12. The board of vocational education shall not add to its expenditures anything over and above the amount that shall be received from the State in aid of the schools established under the provisions of this act, and the amount annually appropriated for the support of such schools. If the board shall add to such expenditures the city shall not in any case be liable therefor. Nothing herein contained shall be construed so as to authorize the levy or collection of any tax upon the demand or under the direction of the board of vocational education. No funds raised by taxation or otherwise appropriated or set apart for the benefit of the common school system of the State shall be expended in establishing, equipping or maintaining any school established under the provisions of this act. Said Board is hereby declared to be a department of the municipal government of the city wherein it exists and shall be known as the department of vocational education of such city.

13. The City Council, or the mayor and commissioners, shall have the power to levy a tax not to exceed one mill on the dollar annually on all taxable property in such city for the support of schools organized under the provisions of this act, such tax to be levied and collected in like manner with the general taxes of such city and to be known as the "Vocational Educational Fund," which said tax shall be in addition to all other taxes which such city is now or hereafter may be authorized to levy.

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14. All blanks, books, stationery, furniture or other supplies necessary to the transaction of the business of such board of vocational education shall be furnished to the board at the expense of the city, and all other expenditures on account of schools established under the provisions of this act which may be authorized by the city council, or the mayor and commissioners, shall be paid out of the city treasury.

15. All moneys raised by taxation for the support of schools established under the provisions of this act or received from the state in aid of such schools or from any other source for such purpose shall be held by the city treasurer as a special fund for vocational education subject to the order of the board of vocational education, and shall be paid out only upon warrants signed by the chairman of such board and countersigned by the Mayor and city comptroller, or, if there be no city comptroller, by the city clerk.

16. Any city having a population of more than 10,000 inhabitants now or hereafter existing in this State may adopt and become entitled to the benefit of this act in the following manner: Whenever three per cent of the voters of such city qualified to vote for Trustees of the State University and voting at the last preceding election of said Trustees shall petition the judge of the county court of the county in which said city is located to submit to a vote of the electors of such city the proposition as to whether such city and the electors thereof shall adopt and become entitled to the benefits of this act, it shall be the duty of such county court to submit such proposition accordingly at the next succeeding general state, county, or city election, and if such proposition is not adopted at such election the same shall in like manner be submitted to a vote of the electors of such city by such county court upon like application at any general state, county or city election thereafter, and an order shall be entered of record in such county court submitting such proposition as aforesaid.

17. The judge of such county court shall give at least thirty days' notice of such election by publishing a notice thereof in one or more newspapers of general circulation published within such city at least five times, the first publication to be at least thirty days before the day of the

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election; and if no newspaper is published in such city then by posting at least five copies of such notice in five public places in said city at least thirty days before such election. Such election shall be held under the election law in force in such city except as herein otherwise provided, and all persons qualified to vote for Trustees of the State University shall be authorized to vote at such election. The ballots to be used at such election shall be in the following form:

For the adoption of an act entitled, "An Act to authorize cities and communities to establish Vocational Schools."	Yes	
	No	

If a majority of the votes cast at such election shall be voted for the adoption of this act, it shall thereby and thereupon be adopted by and in force in such city.

18. Any community having a population of 1,000 occupying any contiguous and compact territory and excluding therefrom any part of a city having a population exceeding 10,000 inhabitants, may establish a vocational school by submitting the proposition to a vote of the people at a general or special election.

19. Upon the receipt of a petition signed by 50 or more legal voters residing in such territory, the county superintendent of schools of the county in which the territory or the greater part thereof is situated shall forthwith order an election to be held for the purpose of voting "for" or "against" the proposition to establish a vocational school by posting notices for at least ten days in ten of the most public places throughout the territory. Such notices may be substantially as follows:

NOTICE OF ELECTION.

Notice is hereby given that on the ——— day of ——— an election will be held at ——— for the purpose of voting "for" or "against" the proposition to establish a vocational school for the benefit of the inhabitants of (here describe territory described in petition). The polls will be opened at — o'clock — M. and close at — o'clock — M.

County Superintendent.

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Any person who has attained the age of 21 years and who has resided within the territory for a year shall be authorized to sign the petition.

20. The form of petition required by the foregoing section may be substantially as follows:

State of Illinois, }
County } ss.

To the County Superintendent of Schools of Said County and State:—

We, the undersigned, being fifty or more legal voters residing within the following described territory, to wit:

(here describe territory)

respectfully petition you to give notice of an election to be held according to the provisions of "An Act to Authorize Cities and Communities to Establish Vocational Schools," approved ———— 1913, for the purpose of voting for or against the proposition to establish a vocational school for the benefit of the inhabitants of the above described territory.

NAMES

NAMES

I, ————, hereby certify that I am a legal voter and reside within the territory described in the foregoing petition, and that the signatures on this sheet were signed in my presence and are genuine, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief the persons so signing were at the time of signing qualified to sign said petition.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ——— day of ——— 19—.

Notary Public.

21. The elections mentioned in Section 18 of this act shall be conducted by the persons designated by the County Superintendent of Schools to whom such petition is addressed, to whom all returns shall be made within ten days after such election. The ballots shall be in substantially the following form, to wit:

For establishing a Vocational School	<div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 1.2em;"></div>
Against establishing a Vocational School	<div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 1.2em;"></div>

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The voter shall make an "X" or cross mark in the square following and opposite the proposition favored and the ballots shall be so counted. When the question is voted upon at a general election it shall be submitted according to the provisions of the statute under which the election is held. Any person who has attained the age of 21 years and who has been a resident of the territory for one year immediately preceding such election shall be authorized to vote at the election.

22. If a majority of the votes cast on this proposition shall be in favor of establishing a vocational school, the county superintendent of schools shall forthwith order an election to be held within thirty days for the purpose of electing a Board of Vocational Education which shall consist of a president and six members, by posting notices for at least ten days in ten of the most public places throughout the territory, which notices may be substantially as follows:

Notice is hereby given that on the ——— day of ——— an election will be held at ——— for the purpose of electing a Board of Vocational Education to consist of a president and six members. The polls will be opened at — o'clock — M. and closed at — o'clock — M.

County Superintendent.

Two of the members shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years and each year thereafter two members shall be elected to serve for three years from the second Saturday in April next preceding the election. The president shall be elected annually and all subsequent elections shall be held on the second Saturday of April annually.

23. For the purpose of supporting a vocational school, the territory for the benefit of which such school is established under the provisions of this act shall be regarded as a school district, and the Board of Vocational Education thereof shall have the powers of School Directors and shall be vested with all of the powers and charged with all the duties of Boards of Vocational Education in cities having a population of over 10,000 inhabitants, and be subject to the same restrictions, but shall have the following additional powers and duties:

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1. To erect, lease or purchase buildings suitable for the purposes of such schools and keep the same in repair.

2. To buy or lease sites for school houses with the necessary grounds. If the Board shall be unable to agree with the owner or owners for the purchase of any such site, then it may acquire the title to any such site in the manner provided by law for the exercise of the right of eminent domain. Such proceedings to condemn shall be in the name of the Board of Vocational Education, and the title to all property purchased or acquired by condemnation shall be vested in said Board.

3. To prepare for publication annually in pamphlet form a report showing the school attendance during the year, the program of studies and a statement of receipts and expenditures, together with the balance on hand, and such other information regarding the school as they may deem proper or as they may be required to furnish by the State Board of Vocational Education.

4. To establish a suitable number of voting precincts for conducting all elections under this act and fixing the boundaries thereof for the accommodation of the voters of the territory, in each of which voting precincts there shall be one voting place designated by the Board. Whenever the Board shall establish more than one voting precinct it shall appoint two judges and one clerk for each voting place, assigning as far as practicable one member of the Board to each voting place; *provided*, however, that any person who has attained the age of twenty-one years and who has been a resident of the territory for one year next preceding the date of any election held under the provisions of this act shall be authorized to vote at such election.

24. All Boards of Vocational Education established under the provisions of this act shall keep a true and accurate account of all moneys expended by them for educational purposes, and shall report the same to the State Board of Vocational Education for approval, and the auditor of public accounts is hereby authorized and required to draw his warrants on the State Treasurer on or before the first Monday in September of each year for the respective sums upon the recommendation and approval of the State Board of Vocational Education as hereinbefore provided.

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25. The words and phrases following whenever used in this act shall be construed to include in their meaning the definition set opposite the same in this section whenever it shall be necessary for the proper construction of this act.

1. DISTRICT—A Vocational Education District created under this act.
2. BOARD—The Board of Vocational Education of a City or Community.
3. VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION—Instruction whose controlling purpose is to fit the recipient for profitable employment.
4. VOCATIONAL CONTINUATION SCHOOL—Agricultural, industrial, commercial and household art school for boys and girls in employment, the controlling purposes of which are to fit for useful occupations and which deals with pupils between fourteen and eighteen years of age.
5. VOCATIONAL DAY SCHOOL—A school giving instruction to persons between 14 and 16 years of age who can give one or more years to such preparation before entering employment.
6. VOCATIONAL EVENING SCHOOL—Vocational schools or classes attended by persons over 18 years of age who are already engaged in useful employment.
7. PART-TIME SCHOOLS—Schools for persons engaged in useful employment which afford instruction during a portion of the working time of the pupils supplementary to such employment.
8. APPROVED SCHOOL—A school giving instruction in agriculture, commerce, or in the domestic or industrial arts which has been approved by the State Board of Vocational Education.
9. OPERATING EXPENSES—All expenses except the purchase of real estate, the erection of buildings, and the permanent equipment thereof.
10. HE—Male, female, singular or plural.
11. NUMBER—The singular number shall include the plural and the plural number shall include the singular.
12. OATH—Oath or affirmation.
13. PERSON—Male or female, singular or plural number.

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